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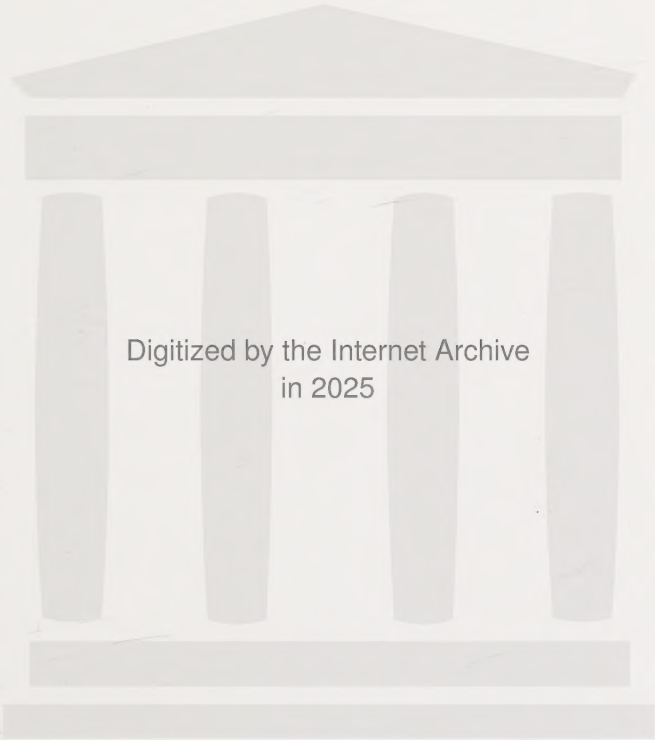
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William Rainey Harper

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

First President of the University of Chicago

By
Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

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WITHDRAWN

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PREFACE

ON DECEMBER 8, 1927, the patient, kindly hand that began this sketch laid down the pen for the last time, after writing the words, "this could not continue" (p. 192).

It had often been unofficially suggested to Dr. Goodspeed that he should write a sketch of President Harper's life, but it remained for President Mason, in consequence of a suggestion of Mr. Frederic J. Gurney, definitely to ask him to undertake it. At the same time President Harper's son, Mr. Samuel N. Harper, came to him with a similar request on behalf of Mrs. William R. Harper. Dr. Goodspeed was in the midst of his eighty-fifth year and just beginning to feel the approach of disease when this invitation reached him in the spring of 1927, but he felt that he could not decline it, coming as it did from the family and the President. He accordingly set about the task with much of his old-time vigor.

He had first met Dr. Harper when the Doctor was a youth of twenty-two, and had known him intimately all the rest of his life. But he set about collecting

the materials for this sketch with as much thoroughness as though he had no personal knowledge of him at all. Letters were sent to old friends of Dr. Harper's, other friends were interviewed, published and unpublished records of Yale, Chautauqua, and the University of Chicago were examined, and the immense mass of the files of his correspondence was explored. An important body of letters and of other materials was turned over to him by the members of the Harper family, and this was worked over very faithfully during the summer at Dr. Goodspeed's home, Paradise Island, in Plum Lake, Wisconsin. There the first draft of chapter i and much of chapter ii were written.

After his return to Chicago in September, Dr. Goodspeed secured the able assistance of Mr. J. V. Nash, Chicago '15, who went through great masses of President Harper's correspondence, selecting and summarizing letters that promised to be of use for the sketch. Dr. Goodspeed continued, however, to write out his chapters in his own hand, as had been his habit in all his literary work.

From the beginning of the task, he had been urged to plan the sketch upon a larger scale, but he had replied that he could not count upon the time necessary to finish a larger biography. Again in the autumn, it was pointed out to him that with the great documentary resources available in the files

of President Harper's correspondence, a much larger and fuller life might be written; but he answered that he could not count upon six months nor even three in which to finish such a work. He worked steadily and cheerfully at the task throughout the autumn, hoping that he might live to complete it, and he had gone so far that another fortnight's work would have finished the first draft of it, when he was stricken with paralysis and one week later passed away.

He had more than once contemplated the possibility of having to leave the sketch unfinished, and repeatedly expressed to us, his sons, the wish that if it became necessary we should carry it to completion. While we had read the finished chapters as they left his hand, and discussed them with him, in his eagerness to carry the first draft if possible to completion, he had not begun the work of revision. It has therefore remained for us to complete the fifth chapter and prepare the sixth, besides revising the earlier chapters. Dr. Goodspeed's work had covered the President's active career up to what may be called the catastrophe. It is that that we have had to supply.

We wish to acknowledge the kindness of President Mason in providing the secretarial assistance without which the files of President Harper's correspondence, constituting as they do a small library, could not have been explored.

Charles T. B. Goodspeed
Edgar J. Goodspeed

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I

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

AFTER the death of President Harper in 1906 an article appeared in the *Review of Reviews* on his life-work from the pen of Dr. John Huston Finley, then president of the College of the City of New York and now editor of the *New York Times*. In the course of the article Dr. Finley said of President Harper: "The period of his active work . . . . was only thirty years. . . . . But the achievement of these three decades, begun at an immature age and crowned with the glory of the heroic struggle of the last year, was the achievement of three men, and of three extraordinary men. It was as if these three men of the same basic character, having all much in common and having each a sympathy with the others, yet differing in their possessing interests and their intellectual gifts, were joined together in a loyal and enduring union. The great bounding heart was common to all. And they all worked together always. Only they divided their time among the interests of these three giant men. Now it was teaching to which he gave himself with the strength of

three men; another hour or another day it was to study, to the seeking of a scholar; and then the next hour or the next day it was the complex and tangled task of the executive to which this man of three men's brains set his hand. By this coöperation he accomplished what three men working independently, though of great ability each, could not have done." He made the same impression on other men. To some of them he seemed to do the work of two men and to others of ten. To some he seemed in the thirty years of his active work to have done the work of sixty years and to others that of a hundred.

Such was the man the story of whose life I have, with much reluctance, undertaken to tell. Much indeed has been written of him. I have, myself, written of different and disconnected parts of his career. But, though he was an extraordinary man, and more than twenty years have passed since his untimely death, no consecutive story covering the forty-nine years of his eventful life has been written. As no one who worked with him longer than I did remains alive to tell his story, and as the assistance of some contemporaries who knew him best is still available to me, I have consented to prepare this sketch.

It might naturally be supposed that he was descended from an illustrious ancestry or that the circumstances of his youth were particularly favorable to the development of great qualities in his man-

hood. But we look in vain for a great line of forebears. There was no wealth in the family and he had his own way to make in the world. Yet he developed qualities that made him one of the leading men of his time. This is not to say that he did not spring from good ancestry. That ancestry was the Scotch Covenanters on both sides. They had been part of that migration of Presbyterians from Scotland to the North of Ireland which has had, with the Puritan invasion from England, so tremendous an influence on the fortunes of the Emerald Isle. The family settled not far from Belfast and emigrated to this country from County Down, which lies east and south of Belfast, in 1795. The ancestors who came to the New World were Robert Harper and his wife Janet, and they settled among the Scotch-Irish people of western Pennsylvania. About 1830 Robert's son Samuel moved with his family to a farm two miles north of the village of New Concord, Muskingum County, Ohio. The son of Samuel was also named Samuel, and he settled in the nearby village. He had found a Scotch-Irish wife in Ellen Elizabeth Rainey of Cambridge, a town eight miles from New Concord. Five children were born to them—four sons: William Rainey, the oldest, Samuel, Robert Francis, and James; and one daughter, Mary, who became Mrs. John Gordon Douglass of Chicago.

Samuel Harper, the father, began a diary and

kept it daily with great fidelity from boyhood to old age. The information he gave about his family is very slight. Had he had the least idea of the sort of son he was bringing up he would doubtless have given us most interesting and valuable information about his oldest son's early life. But this did not dawn upon his mind during those years of youth which are most obscure. Yet he did make three entries in his diary which enable me to state for the first time the correct date of Dr. Harper's birth. Whenever the day of his birth has been given in print it has been recorded as July 26, 1856. The father, however, made the following entry in his diary under the date of Thursday, July 24, 1856: "I attended store and we had a babe born about 11½ o'clock A.M." The next two entries read: "July 25th. The babe became overcome with heat—almost expired." "July 26th. The babe well." It may, therefore, be stated as quite certain that Dr. Harper was born Thursday, July 24, 1856, in a log house in New Concord, Muskingum County, Ohio. He received the name Rainey from his mother's family.

The log house in which he was born has been secured by Muskingum College, of which he became the most illustrious son. I am told by Rev. A. R. Stark, of the neighboring town of Cambridge, that the house fronts north on the Old Trails road. It has in large letters on its front an inscription marking it

The Birthplace of President Harper

as "The Birthplace of the late William Rainey Harper, President of the University of Chicago." There are three rooms downstairs and three above. There is one large room below on the west side and two smaller ones on the east side. Of these two east rooms the one in the rear, in the southeast corner, is the one in which Dr. Harper was born. This room measures a trifle less than 12 feet by 9, and here tea is now served to visitors. A large picture of Dr. Harper and pictures of his father and mother are on the walls of the room. The building is about 30 feet square, an old-fashioned log house. It was built a long time before the Harper family moved into it from a log house three miles north of "the Old Trails." It is now overshadowed by great trees.

The family later moved to a small house adjoining the father's store.

New Concord was a small village of 600 or 800 inhabitants, but these were "a peculiar people." They were in large part United Presbyterians. They were devoted to temperance, and intoxicating liquor has never been tolerated in the village. They believed in education, and in the thirties of the last century founded a local college, governed by a local board of trustees. It was an extraordinary community, moved by lofty motives and cherishing high ideals. Samuel Harper was for many years the merchant of the village, was active in church and village life, was elect-

ed to community offices, was made an elder in the church, a trustee and treasurer of the college, and was much esteemed by the whole community. The atmosphere of the home was exceptionally religious. There was always a blessing at the table and family worship twice a day, at which every member of the household, including the maid, was expected to be present. Every child was taught the catechism, which he recited every Sabbath day.

Seven weeks after his birth the first child was baptized, September 11, as William Rainey, and throughout his youth he was known as Willie. In January, 1862, the diary records that he had the measles, and at the beginning of the next year so severe an attack of scarlet fever that the doctors twice gave him up to die. He was dangerously ill again a few years later, but he seems to have grown up into a sturdy youth.

Very early he exhibited a love for books. He could read when he was three years old and loved to have his father or mother read to him. His father tells of one of these occasions when the boy read to him and then insisted that his father should read to him from what he called his "good little book," and was quite unwilling to let him stop, again and again finding passages and demanding that his father read them. He loved to hear men talk on serious subjects, paying particular attention at just this time to what

a visitor told his father about Luther. Many chapters of the Bible he learned by heart. His familiarity with the Scriptures began in his early youth. He was brought up in the church and it was so much like home to him that in later years his father used to tell the following story. The father and mother had taken him to church one Sunday when the Rev. Mr. Murch was preaching. The small boy, then about three years of age, was sitting in the body of the pew and the father at the end next the aisle. The boy, Willie, saw the preacher take a glass of water and drink it; his own thirst being stimulated by this, he slipped past his father, who was absorbed in the sermon, walked sedately up the aisle to the platform, up the steps to the pulpit, and asked Dr. Murch for a drink. The sensible preacher stopped his sermon and gave the boy a drink. The little fellow had a curl on the top of his head and wore a white dress, and the congregation was highly diverted. With entire equanimity the child turned and walked down the steps, back to the pew, and climbed upon the seat as if he had done the most natural thing in the world, while the service went on as if nothing had happened.

Sunday was a peculiarly sacred day in the family. Reading was confined to the Bible, religious books, and church papers, like the *United Presbyterian*. Yet religion was not made to wear a severe aspect to the boy, Willie, but apparently seemed to him the nat-

ural way of living. He had little inclination toward the sports of other boys, and his parents not only encouraged but frequently compelled him to play. His father bought him, as he grew up, a pair of skates and required him to learn to use them. He played croquet, so prevalent in those days, and possibly some of the other games of boyhood. He did play as he grew up but he never played half enough.

Two passions, however, he early developed: he loved music and books. His love of study was noticed by his father before the boy was old enough to go to school, and the parents began to teach him at a very early age. So it came about that when he entered school he was far ahead of other boys of his age. What his teachers did with him, how they fitted him into classes, does not appear. The only thing we know is that when he was eight years old he was sent to the college preparatory school. The president of Muskingum College was Dr. David Paul, "a man mighty in word and deed," as a historical record of the college states. He was president for fourteen years, from 1865 to 1879. He was a relative of the boy, having married a cousin of his. It was natural, therefore, that, knowing the boy's extraordinary precocity, Dr. Paul should take a vital interest in his progress; and this he did through many years.

Muskingum College, from being a very small local institution thirty years before, had grown into

Samuel and Will Harper

the confidence of the United Presbyterians and, under President Paul, made substantial progress. In 1877 it was transferred to the presbyteries of Muskingum and Mansfield and later to the denomination of the state. In its preparatory department the boy made such phenomenal progress that when he was ten years old he was admitted to the Freshman class of the college. In that class he found as a fellow-student Richard C. Wylie, who is now professor of theology and church history in the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Dr. Wylie writes me that "there was nothing very unusual about him except the following characteristics: he was unusually quick in his mental processes; he was at least ten years in advance of his age, ... the average age of the class being about 24; he was as thorough in his grasp of truth at his tender age as most students are at 20 or more, and he was especially quick and ready in taking up a new language." Dr. Wylie says further that "as a boy he was perfectly normal, jolly as a boy could be, free, friendly, and well behaved. I never knew of his being engaged in any unseemly pranks. . . . . He was a good student and differed from most others chiefly in his ability to learn without spending so much time at the task as some of the rest of us."

Hebrew was not a required study. The proposal to take it up originated with the class itself. There

were only three members of the class studying for the ministry, but "all fell in with the idea; Dr. Paul was favorable." The study was pursued under Professor Joseph Walker and later under Professor F. M. Spencer, who afterward became president of the college. Dr. Wylie reveals, for the first time so far as I know, the way in which young Harper came to deliver the Hebrew oration at Commencement. There were regular addresses in English, Latin, and Greek, by members of the class who were appointed for proficiency in those studies. Dr. Wylie says: "As our class had studied Hebrew, we were doomed to furnish a Salutatory in that language! The faculty turned over the problem of deciding which one of the class should perform the task to the class itself. It was decided by lot and the lot fell on W. R. Harper."

Thus two apparent accidents—the decision of his class to study Hebrew and the decision by lot that he should deliver the Hebrew Salutatory at Commencement—both occurring in his very early youth, determined the future of the man. Dr. Wylie includes in his illuminating statement this explanation of the boy's early graduation, at the age of fourteen: "On one occasion Dr. Paul, in a conference with some of the members of the class, stated that the question of graduating Harper at so early an age had given him some serious thought, but as he [Harper] had

never shown any lack of power to grasp the various disciplines in the college curriculum, even including Psychology, he saw no reason for holding him back." And so he was admitted to graduation in 1870, at the age of fourteen, in spite of his youth and on his merits. At his graduation there were seven members in his class, which was about the average number in the Muskingum classes of that day. In all its departments the college now numbers nearly 2,000 students. But New Concord is still only a village of 1,200 or 1,500 people, nestling among the picturesque hills of a prosperous agricultural and coal-mining region of southeastern Ohio. As at Hanover, the site of Dartmouth, the life of the village centers, as it has done for three-quarters of a century, about the college.

Dr. F. M. Spencer, of Cooper College, Sterling, Kansas, who was president of Muskingum from 1879 to 1886, is the only instructor of Dr. Harper's youth now living, having reached the ripe age of eighty-five. Relating that he was invited by President Paul to teach Hebrew and mathematics in the college at the beginning of 1870, he says: "I accepted the invitation and found W. R. Harper a member of the senior class. He was a student in two of my classes —Hebrew and Mechanical Philosophy. When I went to New Concord I found that the college had but one building, a brick building about 60 feet in length, 40

in width, with two low stories and a hallway running the length of the building.

"The college was receiving no aid from Church or State and was wholly dependent upon the surrounding community. This community was unusual. Within a radius of ten miles it had great preachers of the United Presbyterian faith, besides those of other denominations. It was a psalm-singing community. These great preachers and their congregations constituted the larger part of this community. The young men trained under such a ministry and in such homes were—without knowing it—half way to greatness when they entered Muskingum College.

"President Harper was not an accident. He was one of scores of young men, trained from infancy in the fear of God and in the knowledge of His Word, a kind of training that has never been surpassed nor equaled. From one of such homes came President W. R. Harper. His father, Samuel Harper, was a quiet, honest, dependable man, but not brilliant. His mother was a woman of remarkable mentality. From her he received by inheritance the talent which fitted him for his great work. Rather I may say that, Elisha-like, he inherited a 'double portion' of her spirit. It has been said that God never made a great man till He first made a great woman. It was so in this case. . . . . There were two things worthy of note outside the class-room. W. R. Harper, as a boy

of fourteen, was fond of croquet and was a skillful player. He was not a mere bookworm, but a real boy. The other is that he was fond of music. He was a member of the New Concord Band and in the summer vacation following his graduation he gave lessons on Dr. James White's organ at Mt. Jackson. . . . . President Harper was fourteen years old when he graduated with the degree of A.B. This today would be an impossibility, but two things must be noted. The course of study is more extensive now than then. So far as language, mathematics, and the philosophies are concerned, the difference may not be great. The difference is mainly in the sciences. Work in the laboratory was largely a minus quantity in those days. . . . . President Harper had both the talent and the energy to accomplish such a task [as his early graduation]. . . . . It is true that 'the child is father to the man.' President Harper started as he lived, and he lived as he started."

Regarding the Hebrew oration at his graduation, Dr. Spencer says that young Harper had been thoroughly drilled in the Hebrew verbs and that "by the proper use of some of these forms and by quotations from 'Moses and the Prophets' he could and did give his oration in Hebrew." Dr. Spencer does not say how much help the boy received from his teacher, but he does say, "Every linguist will understand that it would have been impossible for a boy of four-

teen to have written and delivered a lengthy oration in Hebrew with proper use of nouns and verbs"; and when I recall my own struggles with the Greek oration at my own graduation and the help I was glad to get from my old teacher, Dr. A. C. Kendrick, of Rochester, I am sure the boy Harper did not produce an oration in Hebrew without encouragement from his professor. The boy was a marvel, but I do not doubt that Professor Spencer was kind.

The boys of the village who went into the college sixty years ago were first of all village boys with village loyalty. The village boys who did not go into the college were their earliest companions and friends, and in some instances the friendship thus formed continued unbroken. It was so in Dr. Harper's case. His parents continued to live in New Concord throughout his life, and his last visit to his native village was made only a few months before his death. He formed friendships among the boys which continued as long as he lived. I have asked one of these to tell me whether he played like other boys, and what sort of a boy he was. This lifelong friend, T. F. Gault, a druggist of the village, now seventy-seven years old, lived next door to him when they were boys and knew him from his very early boyhood; although, as Gault was six years older than Harper, they did not become close friends until the latter was about thirteen years old, and Gault nineteen. Such

was the younger boy's maturity that he was then in college and associated on equal terms with young men from six to ten years his seniors. Mr. Gault says he did not play, "at least not like other boys of those days. He was not inclined to play, not that he did not have the time, but he would not take the time from his study and reading of books. I believe he used to play some marbles and also some croquet, but I never knew of his playing ball or other games. I do not think he learned to swim, but he was pretty good on skates. [These were the skates his father bought and compelled him to learn to use.] I never knew of his hunting game or doing any kind of fishing. The most playing he did was on a cornet, piano, organ, or some other kind of musical instrument. I never knew a boy who was so bright and apt in learning and mastering difficult problems. I would often go to him with my troubles and ask him to show me the way out. For a moment he would think, then snap his finger and proceed to tell me what to do and what not to do. I would always follow his advice. . . . . Nearly every person in town knew him, liked him, and he was a great favorite with all. One thing that was so noticeable to me was the way people, as a rule, looked up to him as we look up to some great personage,—men and women of all ages looking up to this *boy!* This alone shows how different he was from ordinary boys." All this shows also what was

meant in the answer to one of my questions—whether Dr. Harper was different from ordinary boys. The answer was: "In most respects he was, while in a few he was not." He was far in advance of other boys of his age in his studies and in the general maturity of his mind, while at the same time he was companionable, friendly, democratic, modest, and extraordinarily likeable. He was a favorite in New Concord to the end of his life.

The father's diary is singularly reticent regarding his son's college course. Although there is an entry for every day of every year, in all those years there is no mention of what his son was doing. At the very end, however, he made the following entry, June 23, 1870: "I attended store and commencement. Willie graduated. It was a very solemn matter to me. Think of having a son to graduate before he was 14 years old."

We have one intimate view of him and his boyhood ways during these years when he was in college. He had a cousin, Elizabeth, who was of the same age and was brought up in the family. She recalls that she often saw him "sprawled at full length on the floor, his book lying before him and his head resting on his hands, as with his elbows on the floor he propped himself in a good position to read. He would become so fascinated with his study that nothing could call him away. Although he had a

hearty boy's appetite, the fact that the meal was served and he was called—nothing could draw him away from his study until he had finished the part in which he was interested. Sometimes, in spite of all efforts to draw him away from his book, he would remain at it all of the night."

After his graduation from college, in 1870, the question at once arose as to what should be done with him next. He was still a small boy, only fourteen years old. He solved the question in part for himself by continuing his studies in languages with Professor O. H. Roberts of the college, who knew something of a number of tongues and seems to have had a real part in adding to the boy's love for linguistics.

His father, however, was a not over-prosperous merchant with a general village store, and needed the help of his oldest son in his business. The boy had two passions: one of them was for learning, the other for music. The father felt that the boy was too young, by some years, to commit himself finally to either for life, or to any particular career. It is generally understood that he went to work in his father's store immediately adjacent to the house in which the family lived, and continued there for the next three years, although his father's diary does not mention the fact. The month following his graduation he spent in Rev. Mr. White's parish, away from

home, giving music lessons. During 1871 he was in poor health. In June he was so ill that they thought he was dying. As he improved, the doctor took him to Zanesville for a consultation. His father said, "I fear he will not be long with us." Again on September 14 he thought the boy would not live; and in December he wrote, "Willie was quite unwell. Had one of his bad spells again."

Of course, during these three years he was busy. He was always busy. Some things that occurred in the spring of 1873 make it evident that much time was spent in the study of languages, particularly of Hebrew, and in very earnest search after the best method of teaching. One was the opportunity that came to him to do some teaching in Muskingum College. It is well known that he decided, early in his career as a teacher, on the inductive method of teaching. These studies occupied much of his thought and time during the three years in which he was waiting till he was old enough to decide intelligently what his life-work should be. Dr. Harper himself once jokingly said that during those three years he was reading the classics, clerking in his father's store, and getting into mischief. With all his devotion to study, he had a playful and mischievous humor which he never lost, and bore his part in the village pranks of his boyhood friends. Indeed, this period was really his boyhood, and he got some of the joys of boyhood out

of it. It gave him the opportunity to indulge his musical tastes. He played the piano with President Paul's daughter, Ella, who later became his wife. Whether he was the first to propose the organization of a village band I do not know, but to find an outlet for his energies he took part in its organization and his enthusiasm for music and genius for leadership soon put him at its head. His next younger brother, Samuel; his cousin, Lyle Harper, who was his closest friend, and his friend, Jack Gault, were members of this New Concord Silver Cornet Band, and the willingness of these town boys to work with him and under him in this organization shows the personal attachment that he already unconsciously inspired. He played the E-flat cornet. Under his inspiration the band practiced assiduously, and he soon began to lead them about the state to give concerts. They visited Cambridge, Bellaire, Zanesville, Newark, Granville, and other places. Granville was the seat of Denison University, and there two boys who were later long associated with him at Denison and at Chicago saw him for the first time. One was Clarence F. Castle, whose father had brought him to see Denison at the Commencement of 1873; and there he heard the New Concord band play. "Its leader," he says, "was, as I learned, no other than W. R. Harper. At that time he was a very young man, round-faced, of ruddy complexion, and full of vigor.

His band played well. Evidently its members were well trained." The other eye-witness was Francis W. Shepardson, later, like Castle, a professor in the University of Chicago, but then a boy of 11, six years younger than Harper. He remembers seeing the band marching up the street with the leader at its head, with his hat set well back on his head, in a fashion characteristic of him in later life, and playing the cornet. These are glimpses of him when he was still a boy not quite seventeen years old.

He was so fond of music that he thought of giving himself to it and devoting his life to a musical career. But books and study drew him strongly in their direction. He had begun to collect a library. I have before me a small book of 284 pages—"*Intellectual Philosophy:* Abercrombie." On the inside of the cover there is a blue book-plate, with this inscription: "Library of Will R. Harper. No. 1." It was evidently given to him by his mother, and owned by her before her marriage, as on the fly-leaf there is written, apparently in her hand, "Ellen E. Rainey, Cambridge, Ohio, Dec. 14, 1850." Although he was never enamored of philosophy, this was the beginning of a library which came to contain some thousands of volumes.

In 1872-73 there occurred a most important incident in his life. In the course of my inquiries as to the years of his boyhood, I have received the fol-

lowing interesting account of it, written by Dr. R. J. Miller, an editor of the United Presbyterian Board of Pittsburgh:

"It has been one of the joys of my life that I was one of William Rainey Harper's first pupils in Hebrew. Dr. Paul, the president of Muskingum College, asked him to teach Hebrew in the college in the year 1872–73, which was my senior year. There were but three of us in the class—John Taylor, J. Stuart McMunn, and R. J. Miller. That was his first experience in teaching. He was about sixteen years old. But no class in that institution ever had such a thorough drilling in the elements of Hebrew as had those three students in Old Muskingum. He entered most heartily into the service that was set before him and created an enthusiasm in his pupils such as they had never experienced in any of their studies. In later years I was one of his first correspondence pupils in Hebrew, and I found that the system which afterward gave him an international reputation was but the development of the principles and methods which he adopted in teaching that small class in Muskingum College. . . . . It was my pleasure to meet Dr. Harper from time to time after his name had been written down as the foremost educator of his day. Yet in the heyday of his great renown his attitude toward the humble associates of his boyhood days never changed. He always greeted me with the same

cordiality which he manifested while I was a member of the first class he ever taught."

Thus his education continued, not only as a student under teachers, but best of all as a teacher of others. This teaching of Hebrew at sixteen is biographically illuminating. Perceiving the bent of his mind, President Paul started him in what became his life-work.

The boy continued to assist his father in the small store for three years. If his heart had been in this work he would have made a good clerk. Everybody liked him and his entire life demonstrated that he could interest people in buying anything that he was interested in selling. But business was not his line. Even when he afterward conducted an enterprise of his own in which he was profoundly interested, all business details were committed to assistants. He was essentially a scholar, and as he grew toward manhood his mind turned more and more toward scholarly pursuits. His parents did not attempt to choose his future for him. They seem to have recognized that their son was a self-directing genius; while he was still a boy they left the choice of his future in his own hands.

He chose the life of a scholar and a teacher. While still a clerk and still a boy, he found ways to continue his studies of the languages to which he was particularly drawn. He found a man who could help him in

Zanesville; and, though that town was 18 miles distant, for a time he went there at stated intervals to seek direction in his studies. His old instructors in the home college gave him encouragement and assistance. He felt the need, however, of advanced instruction and began to cast about for a place where he might secure it.

Half a century ago graduate instruction was given in only a few colleges in the United States. Our ambitious young men went abroad for advanced work. Young Harper would have done this had it been possible. But his father could not afford to send him; and, in order to find a place in this country where he could go with advantage, he sent to all the leading colleges and filled the house with their catalogues. President Paul was deeply interested in the scholarly ambitions of his youthful graduate and gave him every encouragement. Through his advice Yale was finally decided on as the place where the boy should pursue his graduate studies, and on September 10, 1873, he left home to begin his work in Yale.

This opportunity of graduate study was a rare thing for a boy in an Ohio village at that time. President William O. Thompson, long the head of Ohio State University, a graduate of Muskingum College in the class of 1878, a native of the neighboring town of Cambridge, and a life-long friend of President Harper, said in a recent address, that while he, like so

many others, had been obliged to work his way through college, and had had in consequence less time to study, Will Harper had, through his father's support, had leisure to pursue his studies unswervingly. Dr. Harper was fully conscious of his obligation to his father in this regard, and found opportunity in later life to express his gratitude to his parents in many ways.

Yale College, as it was then called, had about 1,000 students in all departments. Dr. Noah Porter was President. There were fifty-five students in the graduate department of philosophy and arts. Yale was passing through the transition from a college to a university. William Dwight Whitney was professor of Sanskrit and comparative philology and instructor in modern languages, Lewis R. Packard was professor of Greek, and George E. Day was professor of Hebrew in the theological department. There were about seventy-five members of the faculty in all departments. Yale was still a small institution compared with the universities of our day.

William Dwight Whitney was an eminent man, and much of Harper's work was done with him. To one of his classmates he seemed "a somewhat unsophisticated country lad. He was then seventeen and seemed to us not very well prepared for the work we were doing. He began work with Whitney and Beers (Chaucer, I believe) and Packard in Greek. I

was not with him in any subject till the next fall, when I joined him in second-year Sanskrit. We were in a group of three, and read the Shakuntala and considerable of the Rig Veda. He had caught the pace and worked as successfully, though without the intensive preparation, as Mr. Boals and I, and did not use more time than we—things that called out our admiration. . . . . He roomed much of the time, as I remember, with A. H. Edgren." This information comes to me from Professor L. A. Sherman, of the University of Nebraska. One notes two or three things of special interest in it. He seemed to his classmates, who were eight or ten years his seniors, a somewhat unsophisticated lad, as of course he was, coming from a small country village. "Not very well prepared." Naturally he was very poorly prepared, but note that in the second year he "worked as successfully, though without the intensive preparation, as Mr. Boals and I." This was always true of him. Study was natural and easy for him. Languages particularly were easy; he did not have to toil over them laboriously, as did others. President Thompson says of him in his college days, "He could read a German grammar about twice, and take the whole thing in just like a sponge." He was fortunate in being associated with a group of superior fellow-students. In 1905 the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, the author of many books, then rector of St. Michael's Episcopal

Church, New York, wrote to him, as follows: "Do you remember when you and I were studying together in New Haven? A little before his death Professor Whitney was speaking to me of those days. He said that neither before nor since had he had a class so remarkable in the work it accomplished as that one, and that no one else —neither Lanman, nor Tarbell, nor Edgren, nor anyone else—had been able to keep pace with us. He spoke with enthusiasm of the remarkable ability you showed as a scholar in those early days, fit promise of the future. I thought it might interest and please you to hear of this."

In his last year at Yale he prosecuted his studies under the handicap of a lingering attack of rheumatism; but, as in later life, he kept doggedly at work. He went about in pain, bent over as he walked, like an old man. Under these conditions he prepared his thesis for his degree, on "A Comparative Study of the Prepositions in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Gothic." A month or six weeks before his second year in Yale was over, Professor Whitney was taken ill and went abroad for his health; and Harper, himself still suffering from the rheumatism, went home to seek recovery. It was characteristic of him that he told his classmates that he was going home to buy wool for his father. He won his degree of Ph.D. when he was eighteen years old, a month before his nineteenth birthday. It ought to be added that he soon recov-

ered his usual vigorous health and never had a touch of rheumatism afterward. While at Yale he had lived in a boarding-house, where the daughter of the landlady played the piano while he studied. Being a lover of music, so far from disturbing him, this aided him in his work, and to the end of his life he loved to study to the sound of music.

It is, perhaps, worthy of record that while pursuing graduate studies at Yale he had spent all his vacations at home. His father is most faithful in recording the dates of his departure for New Haven and of his return for the winter and summer vacations. But there is not a word in the diary to give so much as a hint of what he did during these vacations. The winter vacations were short and may well have been occupied in visiting the many relatives in the neighborhood, particularly his aged grandparents in Cambridge. But we should be glad to know what he did during the long summer vacation. We may be sure he was not idle, and it is more than likely that much of every summer was given to serious study of Hebrew and other ancient languages.

It is not without interest to learn that during the two years at Yale his father paid out for him $1,141.73, or $570.87 per year; this included his railroad fares, which must have been considerable. The contrast between then and now illustrates how far we have departed from the simple life.

Although he went back to his home in New Concord to buy wool for his father, the young Doctor of Philosophy had decided to devote his life to teaching, and, as soon as the way opened, to teaching Hebrew. The opportunities for this were very rare at that time. They are still rare, but in the seventies of the last century they were very rare indeed. While waiting for some door to open for Hebrew teaching, therefore, he determined to prepare himself for that work and meanwhile to improve any good opportunity that came to him to teach ancient languages, for which, even at nineteen, he was exceptionally well prepared. By the work he had done he was fitted to teach Greek and Latin and other languages as others teach them; but, by some gift of Nature, quite inexplicable, and at that time quite unknown to himself, he was prepared to teach them with a success few men have ever achieved. He had an inner call to teach. This never obtruded itself in his social intercourse; he was never a pedant, but the most delightful of companions. But when he got a class before him he was a new man, dynamic in his power to awaken interest and enthusiasm.

The opening that came to him seems to have been presented through the intervention of his friend and classmate at Yale, Mr. Boals. Professor Sherman says, in his letter to me, telling of the young doctor's leaving New Haven to go home to buy wool for his

father, "The next we heard was that he had gone to Tennessee to teach in a position obtained through Mr. Boals." The position was the principalship of Masonic College, at Macon, Tennessee. Much that was most important in his life had meantime happened.

He had been brought up in close companionship with Miss Ella Paul, the daughter of the president of Muskingum College. He had been much in her home, and had played the piano with her, and they had fallen in love. He matured, as we have seen, very early; now, at nineteen, he was no longer a boy but a grown man. Having found a position as head of an institution of learning and being about to leave home permanently, he decided not to go alone but to take a wife with him. Accordingly, he went to Macon on August 30, opened his school and found a place to live, and on November 12 returned to New Concord for his wife.

The very young couple were married on November 18, 1875, and proceeded at once to Macon. This was a village in western Tennessee, in Fayette County, a few miles east of Memphis. The village was very small; half a century later it had only about two hundred inhabitants. The "college," too, was small, having not more than seventy-five pupils, and was a college only in the hopes of its over-sanguine founders. It is doubtful if there were any students of college

grade. This was a humble beginning for a Ph.D. of Yale. Mr. E. A. Mewborn, of Macon, who as a boy of eleven was a pupil of Dr. Harper, writes that Macon Masonic College was built by the Masonic Fraternity in 1848. Its lower floor was used as a school building, and the second floor as a Masonic hall. It was wrecked by a wind storm some fifteen years ago. Mr. Mewborn remembers Dr. Harper as the finest teacher he ever saw, especially of Latin and mathematics. He notes that when Dr. Harper, then nineteen, brought back his wife with him he completely surprised everyone in the village. It is clear that the new teacher was master of his school, as it is recalled that he punished twenty boys for eating turnips out of a negro's turnip patch adjoining the playground. The only further account of his activities in Macon is that, following his musical bent, he organized a band in the school, which he conducted and with which he played. He and Mrs. Harper boarded in the best house in the village, with Squire Wilson, where Mrs. Harper's piano was installed and was much used, and where her husband began by intense application to prepare himself for future work.

The young teacher remained at Macon only one year. It must be remembered that when that year ended he was not yet twenty years old. The records of the experiences of the year are not available. We do, however, know this important fact: it was then

that he discovered himself. He found that he could teach what he knew, in a way that awakened and interested his students and gave delight to himself. He discovered what he had hoped to find: that teaching was his vocation; and, looking ahead, as he always did, for something bigger, he began diligent preparation for higher work. He already looked forward to teaching Hebrew and the allied languages. He and Mrs. Harper had not long been married before he began to beg his wife to let him teach her Hebrew. Perhaps he wanted to demonstrate that a woman could learn the language. This was the argument by which, a few years later, he persuaded my niece, now Mrs. George S. Goodspeed, to enter his first Summer School. Mrs. Harper was a college graduate and therefore good material. At the same time he gave himself with the greatest devotion to extending his own knowledge of that language, with the full expectation of teaching it sometime, somewhere, though he could have no idea when or where. So his first year of teaching came to an end. And the boy had become a young man: to his father and the other members of his family, Willie had become Will, and to others he began to be known as Dr. Harper.

II

GRANVILLE AND MORGAN PARK

AT THE end of his one year in Macon, Tennessee, Dr. Harper went to a new position at Granville, Ohio. It so happened that while a student at Yale he had become acquainted with Henry A. Rogers, who, in 1876, was principal of the preparatory department of Denison University, at Granville. Notwithstanding Harper's youth, Rogers had been so much impressed with his character and abilities that, when he found himself in need of an assistant, he recommended him for the place. It was objected that Harper was too young, but Rogers emphasized so strongly his talents and unusual promise that he was appointed tutor in the ancient languages. Denison was at that time a small institution. But it had a good faculty and a remarkable president, Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, then thirty-two years old and at the beginning of a distinguished career. He later made a great name for himself as a most inspiring teacher, in Newton Theological Institution, in Brown University, and in Cornell. He was for nine years president of Brown and for eight years chancellor of

the University of Nebraska, and later chancellor-emeritus until his death, October 30, 1917. He was a great preacher and a great teacher.

Though Mrs. Harper was sick most of this year and could not go to the new field with her husband, he entered on his work in Denison, September 1, 1876. He could not have fallen into better hands than those of President Andrews. The two men were of the same spirit, enthusiastic students and teachers. They were not slow in recognizing each other and drew together in an enduring fellowship. Andrews helped Harper into his career and watched his growth into greatness and recognition with delight. Harper never forgot the debt he owed to Andrews and tried to repay what he felt was his friend's due. The latter understood his younger friend, took the purpose and desire for the deed, and they loved each other to the end. In the class of 1876, in Denison University, it happened that Ernest D. Burton, afterward the third president of the University of Chicago, had been graduated. These two men, Harper and Burton, thus missed meeting each other by two or three months. They were of almost the same age, Burton having been born February 4 and Harper July 24 of the same year, 1856, and in later life were deeply attached friends for fifteen years.

Dr. Harper, as I must now call him, for he was a Doctor of Philosophy, began his work in the pre-

paratory department of Denison when he was twenty years old. He had left a principalship for a tutorship, a higher position for a lower one. But he saw possibilities of growth and advancement in Granville that did not exist in Macon. President Andrews soon divined that he had, in this young doctor, acquired a genius. At the end of the first year the president had the tutor made principal of the preparatory department, Mr. Rogers having left Granville. The department at once felt the inspiration of his personality. Here is the impression he made on one of his pupils, C. F. Castle, who had seen him lead the New Concord Band through the streets of Granville three years before, and who later was a professor of Greek in the University of Chicago for thirty-three years. He says:

"It was in the last year of my preparatory work that I was a member of Dr. William Rainey Harper's class in *Anabasis*. He was the greatest teacher I have ever known. He was alive, and in the study of Greek made things live and move. . . . Those whose need was most got the most help. He never let even the dullest member of the class lose interest by neglect. . . . . All seemed to be equally enthusiastic to perform the tasks assigned to the best of their ability. . . . . He helped, drilled, inspired, never more than in those first years of his career. . . . . His charming personality, strong character, power to inspire,

and his success in those days of his first teaching were prophetic of greater things to come. . . . . These were to me never-to-be-forgotten days."

I must not omit to mention one very important incident of his life in Granville, not connected with his teaching or with the school. As he and Mrs. Harper had now returned to within a very short distance of their old home, only 40 or 50 miles away, they began by spending many of their week-ends in New Concord, visiting their families. As Dr. Harper had come from a United Presbyterian college, and from a family closely associated with that church, his colleagues supposed that he belonged to it. But although his mother felt that he had been a Christian from his very early youth, he had never connected himself with any church. It was, therefore, a matter of surprise to all who knew him when he appeared at the Baptist prayer meeting near the end of 1876, sitting next to C. F. Castle in the back seat, and, toward the close of the meeting, rose and spoke. Of that event Professor Charles Chandler of the Latin department, who was very intimate with Dr. Harper at that time and, later, was with him in the University of Chicago for the last fifteen years of President Harper's life, writes me as follows:

"My eyesight was not good and I could hardly believe it was Harper speaking. What he said before or after the sentences that startled me I don't recall,

or whether he said anything. The words I remember were, 'I want to be a Christian. I don't know what it is to be a Christian, but I know I am not a Christian and I want to be one.'"

The pastor of the church was Dr. W. C. P. Rhoades, a wise, lovable, able man. He was peculiarly fitted to lead an inquirer like Dr. Harper into the light of a Christian hope. President Andrews, who was with him in these days of decision in the most sympathetic helpfulness, says, "He accepted joyfully the law of service to God and man, with the creed naturally accompanying—Christ, the church, the primacy of the spiritual and the endurance of our immaterial part after bodily death. From that creed he never swerved in any iota."

One very characteristic incident of these Granville days reveals the tireless energy of the young scholar. On a warm summer morning an older colleague passing Dr. Harper's house observed that he had brought his table out into the yard and was hard at work at it, in the shade of a tree. "Why, Doctor," he called to him, "don't you know it's too hot to work this morning?" To which the Doctor answered, "It doesn't matter, I must keep at work. I consider my time worth a dollar an hour!" In days when an able-bodied farm hand could be hired for a dollar a day, this estimate of the value of his time seemed not a little ridiculous. But the young man's estimate of it

was none too high, and in a very few years the world was gladly paying much more than that for it.

When Mr. Richard S. Colwell went to Denison as professor of Greek in 1877, he found Dr. Harper deeply interested in Hebrew and looking forward eagerly to an opportunity to teach it. "He thought," said Professor Colwell, "that the language was not properly taught. He felt certain that it could be so taught as to make the study of it much more attractive and beneficial than was then the case. And although I had at the time learned to read it with some facility, I very willingly assisted in the formation of a class with which he proposed to try some experiments in methods of teaching it. . . . . It has been my good fortune to be under the instruction of a number of eminent teachers in this country and a few in Germany, and I speak advisedly when I say that President Harper was among the very best teachers of his time." Professor Chandler, who was a member of the class, is almost ready to say that he has "never been as richly rewarded for the time and toil spent on any subject as for the time and toil spent on that Hebrew class." This class of the young tutor was, of course, entirely outside the duties of his position. Members of the college faculty, perhaps half a dozen, were members of it—mature and highly educated men, enthusiastic students of a preparatory department teacher twenty-one years old, whose real work

was teaching the elements of Greek and Latin to immature boys. He did his work so well, first as tutor in and then as principal of the Academy, and at the same time displayed talents so far beyond his humble position, so much maturity and scholarly ambition, that President Andrews, who was twelve years his senior, was drawn to him in an enduring friendship. This friendship and appreciation were returned in such full measure that twenty years later President Harper made every effort to persuade his friend to become associated with him as vice-president of the University of Chicago. In later years Dr. Lincoln Hulley, president of John B. Stetson University, who had been one of Dr. Harper's students in Chicago, said of this period, "He has told me that many a time, after his day's work in Denison [properly Granville] Academy was over, he would spend the whole night in studying Hebrew." It soon became evident to President Andrews that for the young genius in his Academy an opportunity must be found better suited to his abilities than teaching beginners in Greek and Latin.

Professor Chandler says of him in this period of his life: "In courage (moral and mental), desire to know the truth at all cost, and ceaseless determination 'to keep growing' (his favorite phrase), the Harper of his last years was, for all I could see, the same man I knew so many years earlier. Those qualities,

with his boundless energy, vitality, and capacity for hard work, were as conspicuous in 1876–78 as in his later life. The amount of work he must have done in those three years was enormous. . . . . It was Whitney who had pointed out to him that the Semitic languages were a very promising field for exploitation by an enterprising man, both text-books and methods here and abroad being antiquated, unscientific, and in America notoriously futile. . . . . At that time, in literature, as such, in any language, Harper showed not the slightest interest. . . . . In the theological discussions with which Ohio Baptists were sorely troubled in the seventies of the last century Harper showed no interest whatever. . . . . I was later surprised at the stolidity with which Harper bore the fiercest attacks, leaving them without public reply." This stolidity was seeming only. In reality he was one of the most sensitive of men. But he was always far too busy to waste his time in controversy, and for what he felt to be for the most part mere logomachies he had no taste.

President Andrews later wrote of his impressions of Dr. Harper during this period of two and a half years: "At first his youthful look and manner disconcerted not a few. His predecessors in office had been much older men. Some, if not all, of his colleagues were so. . . . . The standards of the school had always been very high. Its faculty had embraced

as accomplished teachers as I have ever known. Professor Rogers, whom Harper succeeded as principal, was one of them. . . . . In a word, the gentlemen with whom Harper was thrown in contact and compared upon coming to Granville, while able and willing to help him, were of a character to have discouraged a weaker man."

This was not their effect upon Harper: quite the reverse. Without the slightest assumption of parade he proceeded to the business before him, which he began to despatch with such address and ability that all apprehensions touching his success presently disappeared, giving way to high expectations. These, in turn, soon began to be fulfilled. Dr. Andrews goes on to say that Dr. Harper did not then in all things give promise of his future eminence, that he evinced no propensity or talent for writing—or, he might well have added, for speaking. He did not betray any special interest in theology, in biblical study, or in any of the great themes of religious philosophy. "You would not have picked him out then as likely to head a department in a theological faculty, or to distinguish himself as an organizer of theological work in any branch. His interests were not speculative but concrete." Dr. Andrews declared that in the religious stand he took appeared the Harper of later life. "Duty made itself known clearly and was performed with promptness and decision. Still more prophetic

of what it was to be at his maturity was Harper's early teaching. Teaching was his delight. . . . . He looked forward to each class period as to a feast. . . . . Before his class his mind and his body also were all activity. His thought was instantaneous. Question or correction followed answers like a flash. He would scrutinize with precision half a dozen pupils' several work at the blackboard, hinting, warning, correcting, praising, gently ridiculing, while at the same time attending to recitation after recitation by other members of the class. His comments were clear, concise, exact, and helpful, calculated to inspire and encourage, and not to depress. His own knowledge, always ample, ready, and precise, was never paraded, though always apparent in spite of him, and admired by everyone.

"It was model teaching. Bright pupils shot forward phenomenally; dull ones made good progress. . . . . Like every true teacher, Principal Harper took a deep interest in his pupils. He loved them. . . . . Hence, not alone the brilliant boys . . . . cherished strong affection for him, but the slower ones as well, all being certain that he was seeking their good. . . . . Under such a master, drill could not mean drudgery, or obedience slavery."

Once several of Dr. Harper's students fell to visiting a saloon. Informed of this, and determined to end the habit, Dr. Harper in person "raided" the

saloon, finding a number of the culprits, whom he duly admonished, taking occasion also to give the proprietor a piece of his mind. President Andrews, who tells this story, omits to say that he himself entered the front door of the saloon as Dr. Harper entered the back door, so that no inmate escaped. But he adds, "No American educator has, I think, handled so great a number of students . . . . with so little friction. . . . . There was nothing of the 'boss' about Dr. Harper. He did not dictate or lay down the law, but got his wishes obeyed through reason, argument, and that indefinable force characterizing all natural leaders, well denominated the power of 'bringing things to pass.' This aspect of Dr. Harper's many-sided nature was clearly in evidence early in his Granville period. So were also his incessant industry, his titanic power for toil, and his scrupulous method in all his work."

It is not to be wondered at that President Andrews soon came to feel that the principal of his academy was made for higher work and ought to have an opportunity at least to attempt the work he evidently longed for—the teaching of Hebrew.

It was this conviction of President Andrews that led to the real and immediate opening of Dr. Harper's career as a teacher of Hebrew. Just at this time, 1878, the Baptist Union Theological Seminary of Chicago was in need of a Hebrew instructor. Much

as President Andrews disliked to lose Dr. Harper, he put selfish considerations aside and brought him and his rare qualities to the attention of President G. W. Northrup of the Seminary, strongly recommending him for the vacant position. He was very young, only twenty-two years old, and the students would, as a rule, be his seniors. The Seminary was one of the most important theological schools of the denomination, and the appointment of so young a man looked like a doubtful experiment. The Board of Trustees hesitated, but finally appointed President Northrup and me (I was then Secretary of the Seminary) a committee to interview the young man, with full power to engage him as instructor if the interview satisfied us that he was the man we needed. It was thus that I was introduced to Dr. Harper. I met him in President Northrup's study in Morgan Park, then a suburb, now a part of Chicago. I found a young man, black-haired, stockily built, five feet seven inches tall, smooth-faced, spectacled, youthful in looks, but so astonishingly mature in mind that I immediately forgot that he was not of my own age. He had a singularly winning personality. We both yielded to its charm and from that day forward were his devoted friends and admirers. We soon saw that about his abilities there could be no question. He was appointed instructor in Hebrew at a salary of $1,000 a year, to begin his work January 1, 1879.

As this was the goal toward which he had been working—the teaching of Hebrew to men instead of Latin and Greek to boys—he did not need any long time to deliberate on this call. The salary was, of course, ludicrously small, and less than he had been receiving, but as the new position fairly launched him on the career he wanted, and for which he had been laboriously preparing himself, he accepted the call and entered on his work January 1. With Mrs. Harper he occupied for a time a suite of rooms in the Seminary building and boarded there. They had brought with them from Granville a daughter, Davida, now Mrs. Charles Scribner Eaton of Chicago.

The arrangement regarding his going to Morgan Park, according to President Andrews, spoke eloquently of the place he had made for himself at Denison. "The plan was that he should spend the winter at Morgan Park, returning to Granville after the Seminary closed in April, to complete the year's work at the Academy. With a great deal of reluctance, making this decision by them a cardinal event in Dr. Harper's career, the Denison authorities acceded to the arrangement. For the remainder of the year the understanding was that Harper's main work lay at Granville and that he was aiding at Chicago only in a temporary way. Little by little, however, his relation to the Seminary he was serving so well became

Professor at Morgan Park

substantive and it could not spare him. The transference thither of his entire activity was but a matter of time, to occur so soon as Denison could make shift to spare him." I do not suppose that the time ever came when the authorities at Denison felt willing to spare him. I know that he had not been a month at Morgan Park before our minds were made up that we had found the man we wanted and that the Seminary could not spare him. He went to Granville in April and completed the work of the year, and then transferred his allegiance to the Theological Seminary.

Dr. Harper's success in his new position was immediate. He never could be satisfied with one man's work, and in this first year in the Seminary did so much extra work as a student in its various courses that at its end the degree of Bachelor of Divinity was conferred upon him and he was promoted to a professorship at $1,200 a year! Leaving the Seminary building, he moved to a comfortable home which he soon after purchased.

Dr. E. B. Hulbert, the professor of church history and in after-years dean of the Divinity School, has this to say of his work: "If we were seeking a phrase which would fitly describe him in his Morgan Park career, we should call him a young, enthusiastic Hebraist. . . . . He was called to Morgan Park specifically to teach the Hebrew tongue; and through his

stay he followed his linguistic bent and held himself for the most part to the work assigned him. . . . . In after years Dr. Harper's vision broadened, but at this period he was chiefly a boundlessly enthusiastic Hebraist, with all the excellencies, and some of the defects, of such a character. At the beginning his enthusiasm spent itself in his regular Seminary class work. He was in charge of a department and he magnified his office. . . . . Alert, patient, tactful, untiring, he bent his energies to his single purpose, persistently bringing to bear his rare intelligence, his matchless methods, his illuminating genius, his resistless will. In the first hour, with the printing of a few Hebrew characters on the board, his men began to catch his spirit, and ere long he had them in his grip. His own enkindled and kindling fervor swept them on with an impetuosity which knew no faltering. Such were the singleness and exclusiveness of his aim that neighboring interests were left unnoted."

This was the impression the young professor made on a fellow-professor in another department, who was an able man and an inspiring teacher. What was the impression made on his students? One of these was Ira M. Price, who followed him from Granville to Morgan Park, entered his classes in the autumn of 1880, and was associated with him as student, assistant, and fellow-professor until President Harper's death in 1906. No one knew him and his methods

better. Dr. Price, speaking primarily of those early years in Morgan Park, says:

"Dr. Harper combined within himself more of the best traits of the real teacher than any man we have ever seen in the class-room. . . . . At the first meeting in the class-room the contagious enthusiasm of the teacher seized us. It was here, as we met day after day, week after week, that we saw, with increasing delight, the attractiveness and charm and skill of the teacher. The intense earnestness and concentrated energy with which the work of the hour was carried on fairly electrified the class. . . . . This inspiration, or goading to thought, was marvellously enhanced by another trait, ... the ability to state all the arguments on the two sides of a question with fulness and fairness. . . . . Dr. Harper did not, nor does any true teacher, teach his students *what to believe*, but *how to think*. . . . . He was an exacting teacher, requiring of students the very best that they could do. . . . . His exacting thoroughness—the first element of research—made his work both hard and easy: hard to get for the first time, but always easy to hold after it was once thoroughly mastered. . . . . But underneath his exactions, which were often trying ones, we could always discern a tender, sympathetic heart, especially for the slow and plodding student. . . . . Another illustration of his sympathy often came to the surface for the student who

faced great difficulties in the new views of the Old Testament. Dr. Harper's generous consideration and careful guidance led many a man over the rocky places, and out into the full light, to a rational faith and a larger vision of the truth."

It is not surprising that students flocked to the classroom of such an instructor, became his devoted disciples, and learned more Hebrew in one year than the theological students of my day acquired in three years. That I am not exaggerating is clear from the testimony of contemporaries who observed the work he was doing and wrote of it at the time. I myself, as Secretary, wrote in the report of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary, in May, 1881, coldly and officially: "Professor Harper has met the regular classes in Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis and special classes in Chaldee and Sanskrit. Eight young men have pursued the study of Chaldee and three that of Sanskrit. During the Christmas vacation a class of six met the professor and read the Hebrew Bible at sight eight hours per day for ten days, and a second class read two hours daily."

The Examining Committee of visiting pastors and scholars at the annual Commencement in that year said in their report to the Board concerning the work being done: "In the department of Hebrew the first noticeable feature, both of the regular work of the class-room and in the examination—a feature that

no one can fail to notice—is *intense enthusiasm*. The students in Morgan Park pursue Hebrew as though their immediate settlement in the pastorate and their final success in the ministry depended upon a knowledge of the entire Hebrew Bible, even to the minutest points. The interest does not expend itself in the regular courses, but appears in the formation of extra classes for reading more than is prescribed. It appears also in the fact that the graduates enter immediately into what Professor Harper calls the Morgan Park Hebrew Club."

At the same Commencement, Dr. Franklin Johnson, a visiting pastor from Cambridge, Massachusetts, spoke at the alumni dinner and said, among other things, that "he was glad to find a Seminary where the students studied Hebrew for the love of it. In an Eastern institution the other day a student told him that he took his Hebrew as he took medicine, because he had to. At Morgan Park he found the young men forming classes for study during the summer." Every Commencement brought similar testimony to the unprecedented interest and enthusiasm Dr. Harper aroused among students in the study of Hebrew and to the amount of work he did in conducting extra classes beyond what the letter or spirit of his contract with the Seminary called for. His own enthusiasm for oriental studies communicated itself to his students. Their scholarly ambitions were awak-

ened and these he was eager to encourage at whatever cost of extra labor and service to himself.

From the day of his arrival in Morgan Park his religious life found expression in the church. That it was vital and active is evident from the following summary: he became clerk, was made a deacon, served as a member of the finance committee and treasurer, and finally as Sunday-school superintendent. No one, indeed, was more active, faithful, and useful. In the Theological Seminary, as Dr. Hulbert says, "He found ample time for all sorts of duties in no wise related to his favorite pursuits. No member of the faculty was more ready to take his share of the miscellaneous routine tasks of the Seminary."

We now come to one of the most interesting and characteristic experiments of Dr. Harper's life, which reveals him as already, at twenty-five, a pioneer in educational method. Freed from the extra studies of the first year which had earned him the degree of B.D. and made him acquainted with the work of a theological seminary, his eager mind found a new outlet for his abounding energy. He was never able to understand why the summer should be a period of vacation from teaching and study. No one needed more than one month of rest, and to take four months seemed to him a sinful squandering of time. He found Hebrew so entrancing a study and was so eager to communicate to others what he himself had

acquired, that he conceived the scheme of a Summer School of Hebrew. He applied to the trustees for the use of the Seminary building for the summer of 1881, and the April minutes of the Board of Trustees contain the following statement: "The use of the Seminary building was granted to Professor Harper for a Summer School for the study of Hebrew." The response to his announcement of the proposed class was such that he was obliged to form a number of classes and to secure additional teachers.

A boarding department had to be organized and helpers engaged to care for the students. He found himself, therefore, unexpectedly launched on a new business enterprise. Fortunately, he had the free use of the building. He found his assistant instructors among his own students, young men who had been carefully instructed in his own method of teaching during the preceding two years. These were George F. McKibben, later professor of romance languages in Denison University, and James Loring Cheney, later a Ph.D. of the University of Leipzig.

The first Summer School was held in July, 1881, with an attendance of twenty-three. In 1882 the attendance was sixty-five, and in 1883 eighty-five. The fame of the school spread. Eminent professors of Hebrew were engaged as teachers. Other places wanted similar schools. There were two schools in 1883, one of them being at Chautauqua, New York. The scope

of the work was enlarged until it included the cognate languages—Arabic, Assyrian, etc.; the Greek New Testament, the Ancient Versions, and the Old and New Testaments in English. The Summer Schools became almost complete summer theological seminaries. Their number increased: in 1883 there were two; in 1884, three; in 1885, five; in 1886, five; in 1887, four; in 1888, five; and in 1889, five. Between 1881 and 1890 thirty were held all over the country—north, south, east, and west. These schools were not thrust upon these places. They were organized in response to urgent appeals from teachers and students. During the eight years after the first and second ones in Morgan Park, Dr. Harper conducted these schools in Chautauqua, Worcester, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, New Haven, Newton Center, and Cambridge, Massachusetts, the University of Virginia, and Evanston, Illinois. The aggregate attendance of students reached 300 a year. As Dr. Harper's responsibilities increased, the work of the Summer Schools finally centered in Chautauqua and the University of Chicago as a part of their annual educational program.

In connection with the organization and conduct of the first Summer School, Dr. Harper came upon a new demand. Many responded to his invitation to attend it by saying that they greatly desired to study Hebrew but were unable to spend the time or money

involved in going from home to do it. Pondering this unlooked-for result of the invitations to the first Summer School, he conceived the idea of teaching Hebrew by correspondence. He wrote out a series of lessons which were mimeographed. He then sent to students, ministers, professors, and others, circular letters calling their attention to this then new method of study by correspondence, and inviting them to begin or renew the study of Hebrew. The first lesson was sent out February 14, 1881. As his friend and fellow-professor, Dean E. B. Hulbert, afterward said, the response was so encouraging that "The next year the lesson slips were printed . . . . and alluring circulars were sent broadcast over the land, inviting to the study or restudy of the language of the Old Testament. The renaissance had come indeed, and its inspiring genius, unable to handle it singly, called to his aid his more capable students and other helpers. The expanding work crowded him out of his private library into larger quarters and thence into a vacant store. . . . . There fonts of Hebrew type and outfits for compositors, bookkeepers, proofreaders, lesson correctors, and business exploiters were installed. . . . . The awakened interest creating the demand for better study helps, the *Elements of Hebrew* appeared in 1881; *Hebrew Vocabularies* in 1881; *Lessons of the Intermediate Course* and *Lessons of the Progressive Course* in 1882; *A Hebrew Manual* and

Lessons of the Elementary Course in 1883; and the *Introductory Hebrew Method and Manual* in 1885.

"The business of promoting Hebrew, so auspiciously begun and so rapidly extending, could not get on without an organ. The new journal was christened the *Hebrew Student*. . . . . The *Hebrew Student* was popular in character; to meet the more technical linguistic needs *Hebraica* was launched." The first number of the *Hebrew Student* appeared April 8, 1882.

All this work of the organization and conduct of instruction, the writing and publishing of one or more new books every year, the launching of two periodicals, the conduct of four or five Summer Schools in widely separated parts of the country, did not and could not pay its way. It had to be subsidized. Dr. Harper met this demand by organizing a joint stock company and selling shares of stock in it at $100 per share. The stock was taken by personal friends in Morgan Park, Chicago, and elsewhere, and by enlightened citizens to whom the extraordinary work that he was doing made a strong appeal. Mr. John A. Reichelt, afterward a Trustee of the University, was one of his most devoted supporters. Most of them looked on the purchase, not as an investment, but as a contribution to education. He himself was so impressed by the interest manifested in his work that he believed he could make the stock pay dividends to the investors, and toiled unremittingly to

realize his hopes. In a historical statement of the changes that soon took place in the movement, in the latter half of 1884, I find this statement: "During these months it was proposed to effect an organization of Professors of Hebrew to whom the work should be committed. This plan was consummated December 31, 1884, and at that date the work was placed for five years under the management of the American Institute of Hebrew, which included in its membership about seventy of the Professors of Hebrew and Old Testament subjects in the United States and Canada."

Just here a stranger might well break in on this narrative and say, "I thought this man was a professor in a theological seminary. But you are telling about a man organizing schools, preparing textbooks for them, establishing a printing and publishing business, and teaching hundreds of students in all parts of the world; and all this without saying a word about the transition from his former position." But the fact is, there had been no transition. He had continued his work as a professor in the Seminary all this time with undiminished enthusiasm and fidelity and success, as though he had no other work or interest outside his professorship. His classroom overflowed with eager students. This period of his life, like almost every other, recalls the characterization of him by Dr. Finley, with which this sketch began, as three

extraordinary men in one—the scholar, the teacher, the executive—busy every day the whole year through. What an impression of haste and hurry he must have given to all about him! Not at all: he never seemed to be in a hurry. To those nearly associated with him he gave no impression of haste. He worked easily and rapidly. His manner was quiet, his voice low, almost hushed. He went from one task to another with perfect facility, taking up the new one where he had before laid it down, as if it were the only thing on his mind. In his association with his friends he was not the absorbed scholar, but genial, cordial, as unaffectedly friendly and cheerful as though he had not a care in the world.

But he was visibly growing before their eyes, and no one appreciated this better than those who knew him best and had, day by day, become more and more attached to him. The Seminary had increased his salary in 1883, to $1,800 the full pay of a professor. But those nearest to him saw clearly that as the years went on he was growing too great for Morgan Park. His Summer and Correspondence Schools, his books and periodicals, his scholarship and administrative work had made him known in all parts of the land. His fame as a teacher had reached all institutions of learning. It was, therefore, no surprise to the authorities at Morgan Park when, in 1885 and the winter and spring of 1886, he was approached by Yale and

invited to accept a chair in that institution. They were, however, surprised by the interest manifested in the matter by one of their friends who had never met Dr. Harper and knew him by reputation only. For several years before this time, Mr. John D. Rockefeller had been the most liberal friend and patron of the Seminary at Morgan Park. He was now the vice-president of its Board of Trustees. On April 5, 1886, Mr. Rockefeller wrote me as follows: "I should have written you several days ago that a party came to me from Yale, desiring an interview in reference to an effort making to get Professor Harper into that institution. I did not see him, and intended to let you know at once of that movement, not knowing whether you were advised of it, and not supposing you would be willing to let him go."

I assured Mr. Rockefeller that Dr. Harper had been entirely open with us in regard to the Yale matter, adding: "They have been working to secure him for a year or more and have finally decided to establish a new professorship for him and endow it, ... and are urging him to authorize them to say that he will accept the appointment. It is a very high compliment to him and we fear he will feel that he must accept. We have said and done all we could to hold him here, for we cannot yet spare him. Dr. Northrup says he has greater capabilities than any man he knows. . . . . He thinks there is more outcome in

Harper for our denominational educational work than in any other man in the country.

"He is now, at 30 years of age, the universally recognized leader of work in his department. He is not only a scholar, but a leader, an organizer, an administrator, and is easily first and chief in all these directions. He has immense capacity for work and for bringing things to pass. He is now teaching 1,000 men by correspondence. He has organized the Hebrew professors of all the Seminaries of the country and is conducting six Summer Schools of Hebrew, with these professors, many of them eminent men, working under him. We feel that our denomination cannot afford to lose such a man.

"This feeling and the present exigency have led Dr. Northrup and me to take very decided action during the past four days. We have proposed to Dr. Harper to assume the presidency of our wrecked and ruined University [referring to the Old University, then in the throes of dissolution] and reëstablish it here at Morgan Park, retaining the oversight of the Department of Hebrew in the Seminary. The suggestion has taken strong hold on him, and if he had some assurance of help he would not hesitate to do it. Dr. Northrup and I have felt so strongly on the matter that we arranged a meeting to-day with Dr. Smith of the *Standard*, Dr. Lorimer, and Dr. Henson, and laid the whole case before them. They greeted the

suggestion with instant and great enthusiasm. They are the men who must take the initiative in any new movement and they will carry great weight with all our people." When this proposal was made to the Trustees of the old University they greeted it with the same enthusiasm and at once elected Dr. Harper president of that institution.

But the time had not yet come for the new University of Chicago. The help needed was not available; and, on May 8, 1886, Dr. Harper declined the election, saying: "For two weeks I have carefully and prayerfully studied the situation. I realize, as never before, the necessity of this work, its importance, and the great success which must ultimately attend it. I have been strangely and strongly drawn toward it." All this led, in the last week in April, 1886, to the first meeting between Mr. Rockefeller and Dr. Harper. The Yale authorities began to write Dr. Harper very urgent letters. "During the past week," I said in a letter of that period, "he has received from one to three letters from Yale representatives daily, urging him to give them authority to say that he will accept the position they offer him. They have now telegraphed him to come to New York and have sent him passes." We urged him to call on Mr. Rockefeller while in New York and make his acquaintance. This he did, and Mr. Rockefeller wrote to us: "Professor Harper was here yesterday. . . . .

I said all I could with a view to have him remain with us, and shall regret much if he does not, but I fear he will not." The fear expressed in this letter was well founded. Dr. Harper left Morgan Park that same year, 1886, entering on his work in Yale in the autumn. He had been connected with the Seminary at Morgan Park not quite seven and a half years. He had come to it an unknown youth of twenty-two; he left it at thirty with a wide fame as a scholar, teacher, author, and educational administrator.

The man primarily responsible for bringing Dr. Harper to New Haven was Mr. Samuel H. Lee. He had been a student in Dr. Harper's Correspondence School and in the Summer School held at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1884, and some years afterward became president of the American International College at Springfield, Massachusetts. Mr. Lee was a Yale man, and was so much impressed with what he saw of Dr. Harper that he suggested to the Yale authorities the desirability of calling him to Yale. They set Mr. Lee the task of raising $60,000 to endow a chair for him. This proved too great an undertaking, but Mr. Lee did finally secure funds enough to provide for the salary for the first three years, and the call to Yale followed. Mr. Lee remained a close friend of Dr. Harper during the Yale period, and continued his cordial relations with him as long as Dr. Harper lived.

It must not be supposed that the theological seminary at Morgan Park permitted Dr. Harper to leave its service without a struggle. No one knew his value better; nowhere was his greatness better understood. When every other effort failed, President Northrup succeeded in effecting an arrangement by which Dr. Harper was appointed "lecturer, with the control of the Hebrew Department for three years." It was understood that he should return to Morgan Park at the beginning of January of each year and that for that month the work of the institution should be practically turned over to him. For that month in each year it became a Winter School of Hebrew. Dr. Harper undertook, in that brief period of intensive work in a single department, to make good the loss of his services during the other seven months of the year. No man could come nearer accomplishing this impossible task. But it was impossible even for him. No one knew this better than he did; and, on his recommendation, his former student, Ira M. Price, in whom he had entire confidence, was associated with him as instructor. During January of each year, Dr. Harper was to teach five or more hours a day, and Dr. Price (who had just earned the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig) was to conduct the department during the rest of the year. How well Dr. Price did his work may be judged by the fact that he continued to fill the chair of Hebrew

first in the Theological Seminary and then in the University of Chicago for thirty-nine years, until his retirement in 1925.

All that has been said does not tell the full story of Dr. Harper's life during the period in which he was reaching out after and in some measure realizing his career as a scholar, teacher, author, and organizer of education. He had his private and personal joys and sorrows. Children were born into the family. His oldest son, Samuel Northrup, was born in Morgan Park, and lives to carry on the paternal tradition of scholarship and teaching. Children were born who, to the deep grief of their parents, did not survive infancy.

The Harper family was an exceptionally united one. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, held together in family affection. While at Morgan Park Dr. Harper's next younger brother, Samuel, became a member of his family, was taken ill, and died at his house. His brother next in age, Robert Francis, an exceptionally fine student, came to him to continue his studies. These brothers, and later the youngest brother, James, Mrs. Harper received into her household. The family was a unit. Dr. Harper was very early recognized as its head. Such was his maturity that his parents depended on him, and he was the adviser and helper of his younger brothers and his sister, Mary, the youngest of the family. His

brother, Robert Francis, who was with him in Granville and later in Morgan Park and at Yale, under his advice followed him into Semitic studies, and became a distinguished Assyrian scholar.

Meanwhile, before leaving Morgan Park, Dr. Harper had become very widely acquainted in the world of education. In his Summer and Correspondence Schools he had widened the curricula until they embraced not only Hebrew and its cognate languages, but the interpretation and theology of the Old and the New Testaments; and he had called to his assistance in them scholars and teachers in colleges and universities, as well as theological seminaries, from all parts of the country. He thus came to have a very wide acquaintance among them. The impression he made upon them is well illustrated by what Dr. Charles Rufus Brown of the Newton Theological Institution said of their first meeting. Professor Brown was going to Morgan Park to teach in one of the Summer Schools, and twenty years later he wrote:

"I shall never forget my first meeting with him. I had wondered all the way to Chicago as to what sort he might prove to be, and when I stepped upon the railway platform at Morgan Park and grasped the hand of this man I was content. Let the reader picture to himself a smooth-faced man, who looked about twenty years of age, with straightforward and penetrating, but pleasant, glance of the eye, a man

showing even in ordinary movement the evidence of his strength, accompanied by the greatest simplicity, approachableness, and kindness, a man who for the time had dropped all care, and who proceeded to devote several consecutive hours to a stranger, to tell his own story and to elicit the other's; and all without conventionality on the one hand, or effusiveness on the other, this friendliness being more gracious by his entrancing smile; and he will readily understand that it was a case of love at first sight with me, and that I was committed to him to the end." The wide acquaintance of a man who made this impression on a stranger in their first interview was more than acquaintance. It was wide power and influence. And it was enduring. You saw him a thousand times and it was the same.

Dr. Harper's seven and a half years in Morgan Park formed, perhaps, the most important part of his education. He came in contact with very able men in the Seminary faculty and in the conduct of his schools, and learned from all of them. Probably none made a more profound or lasting impression on him than Dr. G. W. Northrup, the president of the Seminary, who was one of the great teachers of his time. Dr. Northrup had a profound admiration for Dr. Harper, who was thirty years younger than himself. The two became close friends and the older man poured into the mind of his young colleague all the wealth

of his learning, his philosophy, and his experience. All this must be borne in mind when we consider the remarkable development Dr. Harper exhibited during this period from his twenty-second to his thirtieth year.

In concluding the statement from which I have already quoted, Dr. Hulbert said: "The Morgan Park period, with its origination and experiment, is in a sense the key to Dr. Harper's later career. Those days of heroic struggle witnessed the uncertain beginnings of educational ideas which afterward, proved and developed, became corner-stones of the University which he built. . . . . Indeed, the Morgan Park period, comparatively obscure as it may now seem, yields to no period of his life in creative activity, which is the more remarkable as he had then no powerful friends to sustain his enterprises and was himself under thirty years of age. The heavy burdens of work and responsibility which he then so eagerly assumed and, single-handed, against great odds, carried to success, constitute these days the heroic period of his life. . . . . The Morgan Park period reveals Dr. Harper in the making. He was not then the man he subsequently became, but the promise and the potency were there. He had not yet attained, but he was on his way to all we know and admire and love."

It was indeed a heroic period, but not the only one. All his subsequent life was heroic. He had not

then attained, and he never reached the goal of his endeavors. Every year thereafter opened new vistas, new achievements to be undertaken, new and larger and nobler ends to be accomplished. And every year was an increasingly heroic struggle toward ideals which were beyond the reach of one man's life.

But Morgan Park introduced him into this career; and the experiences of those busy years, the origination and oversight of a new business, the questions constantly calling for solution, the novel situations always confronting him, the able men he met in many parts of the country in the conduct of his Schools, enlarged his horizon, quickened his imagination, broadened his mind, and matured his views. When he went to Morgan Park he was a boy, singularly mature for a boy, precocious, a youthful genius, but still a boy; unassuming, modest, but ambitious to be a successful teacher of Hebrew. When at the age of thirty he left Morgan Park for Yale he was a full-grown man, who had proved his abilities, developed marvelous gifts as a teacher, written half a dozen successful books, organized new movements in education, established and conducted two learned journals, won recognition among the greatest teachers of the country, and made such an impression upon those who knew him best that I only reflected their views when I wrote to him, July 17, 1886, as he was going to Yale, "Hold yourself ready to return here sometime as President of a new University."

III

CHAUTAUQUA, YALE, AND THE "GREAT UNIVERSITY"

IT WILL be recalled that one of the early Hebrew Summer Schools was held in the famous Summer Assembly of Chautauqua, New York. In that Assembly there had been begun a series of educational movements, among them a School of Languages. Dr. Jesse L. Hurlbut, who wrote *The Story of Chautauqua*, said in that book:

"A new instructor entered the School of Languages in 1883 in the person of William Rainey Harper. . . . . No man ever lived who could inspire a class with the enthusiasm that he could awaken over the study of Hebrew, could lead his students so far in that language in a six weeks' course, or could impart such broad and sane views of the Biblical literature. From this year [1883] Dr. Harper was one of the leaders at Chautauqua."

The work this young professor was doing in his Summer Schools had come to the ears of Dr. John H. Vincent, later well known as Bishop Vincent, one of the founders of Chautauqua and Superintendent of Instruction there. As soon as he learned of Dr. Har-

per and what he could do as a teacher, in order to save time "he wired the professor from St. Louis, where he happened then to be, to meet him at a point midway between St. Louis and Chicago. The two came to an understanding. Harper accepted an instructorship in the School of Languages." This is the story of the first coming together of these two remarkable men, as told by Leon H. Vincent, the biographer of Bishop Vincent. For Dr. Harper it meant, at the outset, the holding of one of his Summer Schools of Hebrew at Chautauqua. Another was held at Morgan Park. These were certainly enough to keep a man busy during his vacation. But they did not offer Dr. Harper enough to do, and the next year a third was added. Then came five in a single summer, that of 1885. His presence was needed at each one. The ablest Hebrew teachers in the country were secured, but he could not be in five places at once and when he was not present the divine fire was lacking. He was so busy elsewhere that he could not attend the school at Cambridge in 1891; and it became apparent that the number of schools that could be held in a summer must be limited.

Meanwhile, he became more and more enamored of Chautauqua, and Chautauqua of him. In 1883, his first year there, his department (Hebrew) was named first in what was then called the School of Theology. Its work began July 28 and continued

five weeks. One of his early students there, Lincoln Hulley, said of the spirit of his work:

"Once at Chautauqua he told his Hebrew class in which I studied, 'You are neither to eat, drink, nor sleep. You will recite three times a day, six days a week. Study nothing but Hebrew. Go to no side interest. Begin with the rising of the sun Monday and stop with the chimes Saturday night.' That is the way this unusual man worked himself, and others were willing to do it for him."

After only two years he was made the Principal of the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts. In writing of Dr. Harper's work, Bishop Vincent said: "Dr. Harper at once gave a new impulse especially to the Biblical and Language Schools of Chautauqua. His morning Bible readings in the prophets, his expositions, his mastery of every subject that he touched, together with an enthusiasm that was magnetic and inspiring, made his more public ministries exceedingly attractive. . . . . His morning lectures were a self-revelation. It was a vision that would have filled with satisfaction the heart of Plato or Socrates or Arnold of Rugby to see the young professor of Hebrew, ... with his audience of eager students, men and women, old and young, from town and country, open Bibles in hand, held spellbound by his enthusiasm and magnetism as he lectured, expounded, and reasoned concerning the prophets of old. . . . . Dr.

Harper as a teacher of the Word was to the last degree reverent. . . . . Although committed to the later thought in lines of Biblical criticism, he was never dogmatic, always ready to hear the other side, always intent on getting at the real thought of the prophet or other writer in a given passage, with no reference on his part to any hypothesis that was to be defended or attacked. He was quick in grasping a thought, tolerant and courteous in entertaining an objection, fair in discussing an argument, and as candid in acknowledging the necessity of modifying a statement as he was positive in adhering to a conviction."

In another article Dr. Vincent said of Professor Harper: "I met him first soon after Chautauqua began and captured him as Hebrew teacher and Bible School conductor. When Dr. Harper first came to Chautauqua he was a young man but full of promise. The strength of the promise lay in the success he had already achieved. He rendered to Chautauqua invaluable service. It has always been to me a matter of regret that he left us for wider fields. And yet he gave us wisdom, inspiration, and reputation, and always placed a high value on Chautauqua and its mission."

It is true that he placed a high value on the work Chautauqua was doing. If he had not done so, he would not have spent so many years in administer-

ing its educational work. This connection began three years before he went to Yale and continued for fifteen years. Chautauqua exacted a large amount of service from the principal of its educational work; particularly, of course, during the summer, but continuing through every month of the year. Professor Percy H. Boynton, of the University of Chicago, who occupied the position for three years, more than a decade after Dr. Harper's term of service ended, has given me a statement of the duties of the principal. He had first of all to persuade leading educators to ally themselves with the Chautauqua summer work as something worth while. He had to secure as a central core some fifteen heads of departments, these representing work in languages and literatures, mathematics and the natural sciences, education and technical training in music, art, physical education, and the practical arts. The staff of teachers, approaching one hundred in number, served a student body exceeding 2,000. The engaging of this staff, the arranging of courses of study, the editing of the catalogue, and the supervision of publicity, involved consecutive work from the early autumn to the opening of the Schools the following July.

It was his duty to take the initiative in the public program of sermons, lectures, readings, and concerts which all the Chautauqua community could attend. This meant the provision of some 300 events

in the course of the sixty-day session. The practice of Chautauqua was to call in men and women who were achieving in literature, in education, and in social and political undertakings, and not to depend on professional lecturers as such. "The problem was a continual challenge to seek out and persuade to speak at Chautauqua significant contributors to contemporary life and thought. This was a kind of problem for which Dr. Harper was by nature peculiarly fitted."

All this required a vast amount of correspondence as well as many personal interviews every year, so that the work demanded much attention throughout the year. It is not my purpose to follow here Dr. Harper's connection with Chautauqua to the end. He did for that movement a highly useful service, but in doing it he received himself a perhaps indispensable training for the great future of which he had no conception when he became the Chautauqua principal of instruction. He was brought into intimate association with Dr. Vincent. He became acquainted with the hundreds of leading educators, lecturers, preachers, and statesmen who served in the Schools of Chautauqua and spoke on its platform. He came to know the men and methods of the universities and colleges of the country and of other countries as no other man knew them. He had an almost unequaled faculty of absorbing knowledge from these contacts.

Through every year of his Chautauqua connection he grew in mental stature, in knowledge of the educational world, and in the practical skill of the administrator. And he acquired a gift of public address which made him one of the most interesting of speakers on scriptural and educational topics. Chautauqua helped to educate him. In a striking review of his life, printed in 1906, the *Springfield Republican* said: "Dr. Harper had rich acquirement in his special lines, and to that he added in a wonderful degree the ready decision, practical common sense, and persistent activity of the most progressive of modern men of affairs. This was the secret of his remarkable success as an educator, which was most strikingly shown in his work at Chautauqua. He was a scholar but not a recluse, and possessed the rare gift of imparting human interest to the driest of studies."

Dr. Harper went to Yale as a graduate student in 1873, when he was seventeen years old. When he returned to Yale in 1886, he was thirty years of age. He had then been teaching eleven years, one year at Macon, Tennessee, a little less than three years at Granville, Ohio, and seven and a half years in the Theological Seminary at Morgan Park. He was called to Yale as professor of Semitic languages in the Graduate Department, and was also made an instructor in the Divinity School.

He went to Yale at that most important period

in its history when the college was becoming a university. In the same year Timothy Dwight was advanced from his divinity professorship to the presidency of the institution, and during the thirteen years of his administration he completed the transformation of Yale College into Yale University. President Dwight's vision and progressive spirit were peculiarly congenial to Dr. Harper, and he entered on his new work with great enthusiasm.

His removal from Morgan Park to New Haven was a very different matter from the ordinary removal of a professor from one institution to another. He had to take with him the headquarters of the Correspondence School, now grown to considerable proportions, and the Summer Schools of Hebrew. He had to take with him also a number of the assistants who had so grown into the work that they were essential to its uninterrupted continuance. Much material, such as textbooks, type, etc., the editorial work of the two journals, in fact, an entire business, had to be transferred. New quarters had to be secured in New Haven for all these activities; and, with the personal care of his Summer Schools, the summer of 1886 was made one of peculiar difficulty and distracting toil. In that year there were five Summer Schools of Hebrew in widely separated parts of the country, all needing his personal attention. But the removal was accomplished and he began his

Professor at Yale

work at the opening of the University year as though he had nothing to do except to meet his classes in the Graduate Department and the Divinity School.

At the time he began to teach there, a student entered the Yale Divinity School who soon became closely associated with Dr. Harper in both his scholarly and business interests. This was Frank Knight Sanders, who afterward became Woolsey professor of biblical literature in Yale and still later dean of the Yale Divinity School. He says of those early days:

"He threw himself with stirring enthusiasm into his work, making himself almost at a bound the center of a group of earnest students. . . . . Within a few days he succeeded in infusing an enthusiasm for Hebrew among the members of the large junior class. To us all his methods and his ambitions were a revelation. . . . . Besides the 50 or more theological students who quickly began to follow his leading, he had, during that first year, seven graduate students. . . . . He offered eight hours of Hebrew (each week), four of Assyrian, four of Arabic, and one each of Aramaic and Syriac."

The second year at least two-thirds of the theological men were giving a large proportion of their time and energy to his courses. In that year he was asked to address a convention of the student Y.M.C.A. in New Haven. He demurred, saying that he did not approve the sort of thing that passed for Bible study

among them at that time. Urged to open his mind freely to the students, he consented, setting forth his idea of sound historical Bible study. They asked him to embody his views in a course. He became interested in teaching the English Bible to undergraduates. In 1888–89 he gave to undergraduates a course on the Old Testament wisdom literature. He began a regular weekly university lecture course on Old Testament history, and a new interest in the study of the English Bible appeared in the student body.

It did not take President Dwight long to discover the sort of man the new professor was. He was in hearty sympathy with and encouraged the extra work his young professor had begun to do among the undergraduates, and the extraordinary interest they manifested in the study of the Bible. He also began to hear vague but troublesome rumors about a possible new University to be established somewhere which would demand Dr. Harper's services. The result of all this was that President Dwight secured the establishment of a professorship of biblical literature in the College, for promoting Bible study among undergraduates, and had Dr. Harper appointed to fill it. Following this appointment Professor Harper introduced a course in English on the prophetical literature, which drew an extraordinary following in the University, from undergraduates, divinity men, and graduate students alike. It was a memorable experi-

ence, epoch-making for many an earnest student. At the same time a series of university lectures on the origin and contents of the Psalter was largely attended.

It will be noted that I have spoken of Dr. Harper as giving public addresses and speaking to assemblies of students. In his earlier teaching he had never supposed he would make a public speaker. He made it a rule to refuse all invitations to make public addresses. He was abnormally modest about his abilities in this direction. Little by little, however, he made a new discovery of himself, that he had gifts for public speaking of which he had been entirely unconscious. When he was clerk of the church at Morgan Park he was so diffident that he shrank from reading the minutes in a public assembly. When, however, he found it necessary to address the general meetings of his Summer schools, he found that he was heard with interest. His work at Chautauqua soon began to bring him face to face with large audiences and his experiences with them increased his confidence. Not long after he went to New Haven, he was invited to deliver a lecture on the Bible one afternoon a week to the women of the city. The course proved to be so popular that he gave one each year thereafter as long as he remained there. If he needed any further assurance that he possessed rare gifts of popular address he ought to have received it when he saw the students of the University filling

the largest assembly hall in Yale to hear his biblical lectures. This was not a passing interest. A graduate student in Yale in 1890 recalls seeing hundreds of students gathering about the entrance of the hall, waiting for a small class to be dismissed and then rushing in to find seats till the large room was crowded. This they continued to do, week after week, to hear Dr. Harper lecture on the Bible. He soon came to be in great demand for Bible lectures in cities and institutions of learning. Throughout the entire college year of 1888–89 he went every other Sunday to speak to the young women of Vassar and spoke frequently to the student bodies in other women's colleges. He lectured on Bible subjects in many cities throughout the country and came to be recognized as the most attractive speaker on these subjects in the land. He never made any attempt at oratory. He taught, and with such power that people loved to hear him. It was the eloquence of the earnest teacher.

It must not be forgotten that this busy man was, all this time, carrying forward the work of the Summer and Correspondence Schools of Hebrew, as well as editing and publishing two journals. I have already said that the details of business were most distasteful to him. He loved to make the most comprehensive plans and programs, but as far as possible all business details he committed to others. He

brought his brother, Robert F. Harper, to New Haven to assist him in the editorship of *Hebraica*, and George S. Goodspeed, then a pastor in Springfield, Massachusetts, who had been one of his students and helpers in Morgan Park, to assist him in the editorial work of the *Hebrew Student*. He engaged Frank K. Sanders, then one of his students, to help him in the Correspondence School, soon turned over to him much of the responsibility for the management of that School, and in 1888 took him to Chautauqua as an instructor in the Summer School of Hebrew. In 1890 he engaged George E. Robertson as business agent, to perform the work of bookkeeper and cashier in the American Institute of Sacred Literature, the American Publication Society of Hebrew, his Chautauqua work, and his private business, to manage the details of the office printing, opening and distributing the mails, and mailing all office material, and to assume the responsibility of the purchase and sale of books in connection with the Publication Society of Hebrew. Mr. Robertson continued with Dr. Harper for several years, relieving him of a thousand details of office and personal business, among these details being the signing of checks. Mr. R. F. Harper, Mr. Goodspeed, Mr. Sanders, and Mr. C. E. Crandall became his assistants in the University, and the teaching staff in the graduate department of Semitic Languages increased to five men.

The reader will not have failed to notice that from 1881 to 1891 there had been little time in Dr. Harper's life for rest or recreation. The vacation periods had been devoted to the more and more exacting work of the Summer Schools. The term *vacation*, indeed, had little meaning for Dr. Harper. For him a change of work was a vacation. What other men called work was rest for him. Recreation he found in a new occupation. From business or administrative work he turned to teaching a class. He had one of those rare minds which could turn with perfect facility from one subject to another, concentrating on each as though that was the only thing that interested or concerned him. It was as though when he was through with one subject he locked it away and forgot it and turned to the next with eager interest. And more than this, the consideration of the new matter instead of wearying him seemed to refresh him, and change of occupation became rest and recreation. Thus it came about that during the years from 1881 to 1889 he took no vacation, but worked from one year's end to another at top speed with no apparent diminution of vigor.

It must not be forgotten that for at least three years after leaving Morgan Park he gave every January to the Theological Seminary at that place. During that month the Seminary was virtually turned over to him and was transformed into a

School of Hebrew and biblical interpretation. He had developed from a teacher of Hebrew into an interpreter. And the month of his residence was one of extraordinary interest and scholarly enthusiasm among the students.

We have now come to the beginning of a new era, far and away the most interesting and important in Dr. Harper's life. The closing months of 1887 marked the beginning of that era. Little did he or anyone else appreciate its importance at the time, or foresee the course of its development. So far as outward events are concerned, it began in an interview between him and Dr. Augustus H. Strong, president of the Rochester Theological Seminary. In this interview President Strong unfolded to him a plan he had formed for founding in New York City a great Baptist University with greater funds than any university in the country then had. It was to be done through the munificence of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, who had indicated interest in the plan and who, Dr. Strong believed, would carry it through. He wished Dr. Harper to unite with him in organizing and conducting this great university. The eager mind of the young scholar at once caught fire at this suggestion of something great to do, and he entered into the plan with all his heart. He did not, indeed, get a new idea of a great university from this conference. That idea had long been in his mind. His mind naturally—

inevitably—conceived large plans. There can be no doubt that he had had great educational dreams. He was so constituted that it could not have been otherwise. But now there was joined to a great educational scheme a patron, the man whose wealth and philanthropy made him the one man then living to provide the means to carry a great plan of education into effect. He was assured that Mr. Rockefeller was favorably considering the plan. This kindled his enthusiasm. Within a few days, about November 1, 1887, Mr. Rockefeller invited Dr. Harper to visit him and unfolded to him a plan he was considering of founding this great university in New York City, in which he wished Dr. Harper to have a leading place.

This interview seems to have convinced Dr. Harper that Mr. Rockefeller had actually made up his mind to found the great university. He had only been told, indeed, that the matter was being considered; but for some reason which seemed to him conclusive, he jumped to the conclusion, which was unwarranted, that the matter was practically decided, and all the enthusiasm of his nature was awakened. He believed that he had looked into the secrets of the mind of that great and inscrutable man, and he never surrendered that conviction. It gave direction to all his future life. But suddenly, to the astonishment of the two educators, the whole matter of a great university in New York City was abandoned. A letter to that

effect was sent to both of them. Neither of them could believe it. On Dr. Harper's mind an ineffaceable impression had been made that deep in the recesses of Mr. Rockefeller's mind there had been the purpose to found a great university. For one reason and another, largely because, apparently, Mr. Rockefeller did not wish to discuss his reasons for dismissing the university project from his mind, the two men did not meet again for many months. Dr. Harper sought an interview in vain. When they did meet, it was Mr. Rockefeller who sought the interview and apparently with a distinct purpose in mind.

It seems unfortunate that Dr. Harper did not follow his father's example in keeping a diary. Lacking that, I am compelled to resort to his letters and thrust myself into the story of his life. On October 13, 1888, he wrote me a letter of which, excepting some quite unimportant sentences, the following is a copy:

"I spent last Sunday at Vassar College teaching the young ladies (I am to be there every other Sunday during the year); much to my surprise Mr. Rockefeller was there. He had reached Poughkeepsie Saturday night. What his purpose in going to Vassar was is not quite certain. He seemed to have nothing to do there except to talk with me. Whether he knew that I was going there before or not is not known to me. I met him at the breakfast table and he at once asked me for an opportunity to talk during the day.

The result was that when I had finished my morning lecture at 10 o'clock he joined me and we spent the rest of the day together. He expected to remain until Monday, but changed his plans and came down to New York with me Sunday night, leaving Poughkeepsie at 8:30 and reaching New York at 11 P.M. We were, therefore, together the most of the time for thirteen hours. Other matters came up, but the chief question was the one of the educational problem. . . . . He stands ready after the holidays to do something for Chicago. It will have to be managed, however, very carefully; but the chief point of my letter is this: In our discussion of the general question he showed great interest in the Education Society (I mean the new one) and above all talked for hours in reference to the scheme of establishing the great university at Chicago instead of in New York. This surprised me very much. As soon as I began to see how the matter struck him, I pushed it and lost no opportunity of emphasizing this point. The long and short of it is, I feel confidence that his mind has turned, and that it is a possible thing to have the money which he proposed to spend in New York diverted to Chicago.

"He, himself, made out a list of reasons why it would be better to go to Chicago than to remain in New York. . . . . I write you these particulars in order that you may at once put me into possession

of the facts in reference to matters at Morgan Park. It would be a great pity if this could be done to have something so much smaller carried out. Will you not write me at once? Mr. Rockefeller . . . . led me to infer that the question would receive his careful attention at once. Now we must not expect too much: we all know how easy it is to make a start and then fall back, and so I am building nothing on this matter. I have thought I would lay the thing before you in all its details in order that you, Dr. Northrup, and myself might be able to keep track of both ends of the line." The reference here to "the Education Society" meant the American Baptist Education Society recently organized, and "matters at Morgan Park" referred to an effort then under way to found there a college to replace the old University of Chicago which ceased its work in 1886.

It is perfectly evident that the phrase, "the great university," taken in connection with the references to establishing it in Chicago instead of in New York, refers to the only great university the two men had ever discussed, which it had been intended to found in New York City. No other thought seems to have occurred to Dr. Harper. The plan of a really great university took complete possession of his mind and he worked for it with the greatest enthusiasm. At the end of three months he called in the assistance of Mr. F. T. Gates, the executive secretary of the

American Baptist Education Society, brought him into connection with Mr. Rockefeller, and surrendered the negotiation to him. It did not take Mr. Gates long to discover that he and Mr. Rockefeller were in perfect agreement as to the course to be pursued.

Looking back across the gulf of years and seeing more clearly than we could then see, we seem to have entered on a curious conflict of views and plans and efforts. On the one hand were we in Chicago who wanted to see our educational work restored in the establishment of an institution of which the first necessity was a college which we were confident would develop into a university. The passing of only a few weeks indicated that these were also the views of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Gates. On the other side was Dr. Harper, who had in mind the great university, a part of which might be a college of undergraduates. We were thus working at cross-purposes. We were not doing this intentionally or even consciously. We were indeed working, as we supposed, in the most perfect accord. And when the time came to surrender his cherished plans Dr. Harper was not wanting, but continued his zealous co-operation.

At the beginning of December, 1888, he wrote to me as follows: "It is not a college, but a university that is wanted, a university of the highest order, having also a college." A few days later he attended

a meeting of the Education Society in Washington, D.C., where he was in close association with Mr. Gates, who convinced him that the new Society could go no further than a well-equipped college and that a college to begin with was the thing to aim at. The Society instructed Mr. Gates to use every means in his power to originate and encourage a movement to establish a well-equipped college in Chicago. This action reflected the views of Mr. Rockefeller. It met the approval of the Baptist denomination.

Of course, this plan was far from being what was in Dr. Harper's mind, which was a university, a great university, to begin with. But whatever of heartbreak it cost him, he stood, not only loyally but zealously, by Mr. Gates and worked with him wholeheartedly to carry out the plan for the college to begin with. In April, 1889, a company of nine eminent men was appointed as a committee of inquiry on the proposed institution in Chicago. Dr. Harper was one of the nine. They planned as largely and liberally as they dared and recommended that immediate steps be taken by the Education Society to found in Chicago "a well-equipped college, leaving any desirable further development to the natural growth of time." At its annual meeting in Boston in the following month, May, the Society adopted this resolution as to "a well-equipped college," omitting the reference to further development. At the same time Mr.

Rockefeller made his initial subscription of $600,000, "toward an endowment fund for a college to be established at Chicago." All the subscriptions made to complete the million dollars required were given for a college.

I wish to call particular attention to the fact that through all this radical modification of his own plans for "the Great University," or for "a university to begin with," Dr. Harper worked loyally and earnestly with Mr. Gates in furthering the movement. He never for a moment sulked in his tent. He wrote to Mr. Rockefeller, "This idea of a college now, perhaps a university later, is, it strikes me, most excellent. . . . . Perhaps Dr. Goodspeed has written you that I have refused absolutely to consider the question of going to Chicago." It was true that as soon as he was convinced that "the Great University to begin with" must be given up for a "college to begin with," he had assured us that we must give up our hope that he would become its president, as we had insisted from the beginning that he must be. He refused to listen to us any longer. He had no interest in administering a college. He felt that there was no place for him in a college. And this was quite true. The subjects of his learning and teaching were graduate, university subjects. We, on our part, however, never for a moment abandoned our purpose to make him president, if we were fortunate enough to get our in-

stitution. And he, on his part, continued to work for the college we now hoped to establish, as earnestly as he had done for the university of his earlier hopes and efforts. When Mr. Gates and I got into the campaign for the first million dollars he constantly wrote us sympathetic and encouraging letters. In one of these letters he said, "You may count on me for anything and everything I can do to help." And when we had finished our work successfully, on June 1, 1890, we received a gratifying surprise.

In the appointment of the first Board of Trustees by the Education Society during the last week of the campaign for the first million dollars, Dr. Harper was named as a Trustee with the distinct purpose of making him president of the institution. Mr. Gates and I had never abandoned that purpose. Neither, I believe, had Mr. Rockefeller. On the day the campaign closed, June 1, 1890, I wrote to Dr. Harper, urging on him the duty of accepting the presidency, which I felt confident would be offered him. The response to this letter was as gratifying to Mr. Gates and me as it was surprising. He said, "I am much more inclined to consider the Chicago question to-day than I have been at any time." He asked how Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Gates felt about the matter, now that it had become a practical question. He soon heard from both these men, urging the presidency upon him. Mr. Rockefeller said, "I agree with the board

of trustees that you are the man for president, and if you will take it I shall expect great results." Mr. Gates wrote: "You are the only man I ever seriously thought of for that position. What have I done that you should now inquire of Goodspeed where Gates stands, you rascal?"

The first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the new institution was held on July 9, 1890. Dr. Harper was present. A committee was appointed to nominate a president and to report on the organization of the University. But it was made known to Dr. Harper that every member of the Board expected him to become President. And then a curious thing occurred. Immediately, before he left Chicago after this meeting, his mind reverted to "the Great University"—"the University to begin with." As a consequence he was at once plunged into a distressing mental conflict. There were a number of things involved in this, but it soon became evident that the thing that was troubling him most was the fact that he wanted a university in Chicago, while provision had been made for a college only. We asked him to draw up a plan of organization for the educational work of the new institution. But, for perhaps the only time in his life, his mind remained barren of ideas. It refused to function on a plan of college organization. There must be a university. On July 31 he wrote to me: "It does not seem possible to do

what ought to be done, what the denomination will expect, what the world will expect, with the money we have in hand. There must in some way be an assurance of an additional million." He made this feeling known to Mr. Gates, who communicated it to Mr. Rockefeller. He must have felt reassured when the following message came to him from that gentleman: "I confidently expect that we will add funds from time to time to those already pledged to place it upon the most favored basis financially."

The letter which conveyed this great assurance carried also an invitation to visit Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller in Cleveland. Accepting this invitation, Dr. Harper said: "The denomination and indeed the whole country is expecting the University of Chicago to be, from the very beginning, an institution of the highest rank and character. Already it is talked of in connection with Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan, and Cornell. . . . . With the money pledged I cannot understand how the expectations can be fulfilled. . . . . It seems a great pity to wait for growth when we might be born full-fledged."

On August 17, 1890, Dr. Harper and Mr. Gates spent the day together at Morgan Park and matured the plan for making the college the "University to begin with." In the approaching visit in Cleveland Dr. Harper was to propose to Mr. Rockefeller to give an

additional million dollars to make this possible, and if this should be done he was to agree to accept the presidency.

The plans agreed on in this Morgan Park conference were taken to Cleveland by Mr. Gates and laid before Mr. Rockefeller, and the way was thus prepared for Dr. Harper's visit. The purpose in Dr. Harper's mind was, with Mr. Rockefeller's help, to build in Chicago, not a college, but a great university, second to no other. And he now became more certain than ever that such a university was also in Mr. Rockefeller's mind. In urging him to accept the presidency, that gentleman, who was accustomed to weigh his words carefully, had written, "I confidently expect that we will add funds from time to time to those already pledged to place it upon the most favored basis financially." Mr. Gates has written, "The words beginning 'I confidently expect' certainly did commit Mr. Rockefeller, in his own time and his own way, to found a university in Chicago, comparable in resources to Columbia and Harvard, which were then on the 'most favored basis financially' of any American universities. These are the most important words ever uttered in connection with the history of the University." As he well adds, they "created the University of Chicago."

When Dr. Harper went to Cleveland, on September 4, 1890, he found his way so prepared that he

met with no difficulties. In 1888-89 many anxious months had elapsed before the Founder finally saw his way to pledging $600,000 conditionally to establish a college in Chicago. Now all was changed. A university to begin with was the only thing considered. Mr. Rockefeller readily promised the additional million and gave it all for university instead of college work. The sum of $200,000 was for the purpose of giving the University its first professional department, the Seminary at Morgan Park becoming the Divinity School; and $800,000 was to be an endowment for graduate work.

The second meeting of the Board of Trustees of the new institution was held two weeks after this momentous interview, on September 18, 1890. The letter of Mr. Rockefeller announcing his proposed gift and its purpose was presented, and Dr. Harper was unanimously elected President by a rising vote. He asked and was given six months in which to communicate his decision.

All this time Dr. Harper was busily engaged at New Haven. In 1888 he wrote and published *Elements of Hebrew Syntax, by an Inductive Method;* and in 1889, departing from the field of Hebrew, he published with R. F. Weidner *An Introductory New Testament Greek Method.* Beginning in 1888 he conducted with Dr. W. Henry Green, of Princeton, in the pages of *Hebraica,* a discussion continuing through two years

and a half on "The Pentateuchal Question." The question of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the existence in it of distinct documents was then attracting much attention. Dr. Green presented the conservative position and Dr. Harper the liberal, modern view. This discussion, though very protracted, possessed this striking peculiarity in religious or theological controversy, that it was, from start to finish, quite free from bitterness.

On January 5, 1888, a second son was born into the family. Dr. Harper must have been something of a hero-worshiper. He had named his oldest son Samuel Northrup after President Northrup of the Theological Seminary at Morgan Park. The second son now received the name Paul Vincent, showing the close relation that so long existed between Dr. Harper and Bishop Vincent, the head of Chautauqua.

During the closing years of his life in New Haven Dr. Harper yielded to the public desire to hear him lecture on Bible subjects. He gave a series on these subjects in one of the largest churches in New Haven, when 1,200 people crowded the building. He was called to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, to repeat these lectures. We get an intimate view of him in the course at Boston. He was the guest of Dr. L. C. Barnes while delivering this course, and there for the first time came into close association with Dr. Ernest D. Burton, then New Testament Professor

at Newton. Mrs. Barnes said of this visit: "It gave us joy to have Dr. Harper as a guest in our home during the time of his giving that course of lectures. Dr. Burton and his friend Dr. Brown breakfasted, lunched and dined with us while Dr. Harper was there. I can never forget the devout, earnest, absolutely frank discussions which formed the background of the table talk." It was at that table that the friendship began which brought Dr. Burton to Chicago a year or two later and which continued in increasing confidence and affection as long as Dr. Harper lived.

During his life at New Haven he was a member of the Calvary Baptist Church, of which throughout most of that period Dr. Edwin M. Poteat was pastor. His church activity was somewhat restricted by the demands made upon him in lecturing and in teaching on Sundays Bible classes of students.

It was at New Haven that he came into relations of intimate friendship with Dr. Wallace Buttrick, then pastor of the First Baptist Church of that city, who later became internationally known as head of the General Education Board.

During the five years at Yale Dr. Harper's fame grew in a marvelous fashion. The same qualities and methods which awakened interest and kindled enthusiasm among college students appealed to popular audiences, and he began to be called on in a hun-

dred places for addresses and courses of lectures. The general public heard him gladly and packed great audience rooms to hear him lecture. His friends remonstrated with him and begged him to moderate his pace. Mr. George E. Robertson, who, as we have seen, joined his staff in 1890, tells us something of how he worked. He was at the same time professor of Semitic languages in Yale University, instructor in Hebrew in Yale Divinity School, and Woolsey professor of Biblical Literature in Yale College; he was president of the American Publication Society of Hebrew; principal of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, through which he conducted his Correspondence Schools; principal of the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts; editor of two journals, then known as the *Old and New Testament Student* and *Hebraica;* and conducted four lecture courses outside of Yale—in Brooklyn, Vassar, Boston, and New Haven.

He rented an entire three-story house in the city, where he maintained an office occupying four or five rooms, and employed three stenographers, five or six correspondence-school instructors, two or three clerks, and a business manager. The rest of the building was occupied by students associated with him in his various lines of work, who thus supported themselves while working for a degree.

He would rise early enough to meet a class at 7:30

or 8:00 o'clock and, with classroom crowded, would teach until 11:00 A.M. Then he would go to his office, dive into his mail, lay out work for a dozen persons, dictate answers to a mass of letters, and, taking a hasty lunch, would catch the 1 o'clock train for New York or Boston or some other city, where he would deliver one and sometimes two lectures, and next morning be found in his lecture room, as if he had never left town, ready for just as busy a day as the day before. His mail was enormous, larger sometimes than the entire mail of Yale University. His correspondence was from every part of the world. His postage bills were huge. He had over a thousand ministers and students in all parts of the world taking correspondence courses under his direction. His printing bills were very large. He kept in touch with many parts of the educational world. He spent his vacations in hard work. At Chautauqua his lectures and classes were crowded and before and after his work there he was busy in from three to five Summer Schools. He was indeed the busiest of men.

He won early and wide recognition. He was wanted as president of Brown University and of the University of Rochester. In 1889 he was elected president of the University of South Dakota, and was urged to become president of a proposed University in Iowa—all before he had passed his thirty-third year. But none of these opportunities could move

him to think seriously of leaving Yale. He was too successful and too happy there. But the possibilities at Chicago made a tremendous appeal to him.

His personal attraction was recognized by many of his ablest contemporaries. I have been interested in a very brief note sent to him by Elias H. Johnson, professor of theology in Crozer Theological Seminary, who had been my roommate and classmate in the Rochester Theological Seminary twenty-six years before. In January, 1891, he wrote to Dr. Harper this appreciation:

"I have been thinking a good deal about you of late, how nature has given you not only aptness to teach and ability to plan, and skill to set the ablest coadjutors at work, but has made all your gifts and powers as an organizer and director available and facile through the rare absence of pretentiousness, the presence of the most unassuming manner I ever saw in a man of your ability and who never lets down his dignity either. You are a happy fellow, for you will have your own way, and no one will chafe. Your subordinates high and low will obey and love you too. I do."

No wonder we at Chicago had set our hearts upon him. But no one then knew the difficulties through which we fought our way to secure him. I have spoken of his long-continued refusal to consider going to Chicago as president of a college. His refusal to con-

sider the question was made still more emphatic by an attack made on his orthodoxy. This attack was made by high authority, not publicly, but privately to Mr. Rockefeller himself. It was a bitter blow to Dr. Harper, who was the most sensitive of men. He defended himself successfully against the charges brought against him, and his friends stood loyally by him. With Dr. Justin A. Smith of the *Standard*, I urged Dr. Northrup to write to Mr. Rockefeller, and in the course of a long and very able letter he said: "I regard him, taken all in all, as the most remarkable young man in the religious history of our country in this century. His intellectual abilities are of the highest order; his scholarship is accurate, thorough, and wide; he possesses a remarkable genius for organization, has extraordinary power of creative enthusiasm, and is a born leader of men. He is exerting more influence to-day than any ten men holding similar positions in the same department of work. . . . . Could he but have adequate scope for his powers he would do a work in behalf of denominational and Christian education in this country beyond the expectation of those who regard him with the greatest admiration." The attack failed but it wounded Dr. Harper's sensitive spirit and had much to do with his calling in Mr. Gates to carry forward the negotiation with Mr. Rockefeller regarding the new university.

The next disturbing incident was much more serious. The authorities at Yale had not been slow in discovering the abilities of the young professor they had called from the West. Within a year they had appointed him to the chair of biblical literature in the College in addition to his professorship of Semitics in the University and his instructorship in the Divinity School. Toward the close of 1888 they learned of the University of Chicago scheme and of the plan to put Dr. Harper at its head. The very next day President Dwight called on him and continued these calls until a plan was worked out for his promotion and for advancing to him $9,000 at once to enable him to assume and pay the debts of his Publication Society of Hebrew. He was to be sent abroad for a much-needed rest and additional facilities and assistance were to be given him. It seemed to him and to me, to whom after some indecision he communicated all this in a long letter, that if he accepted the proposals without qualification he would be so bound to Yale that we must abandon all hope of securing him for our proposed but, as yet, wholly uncertain university.

It is impossible to overstate the consternation caused by this letter in the small group at Morgan Park interested in the University project. After consultation with my two friends, Drs. Northrup and Smith, I wired Dr. Harper that he must "tell Mr. R. the facts." But I had been anticipated. My nephew,

George S. Goodspeed, had been so much disturbed that he had told Dr. Wallace Buttrick, who had gone to New York on the first train and had told the whole story to Dr. H. L. Morehouse and Mr. Gates. These three had then sent a letter to Mr. Rockefeller, giving him the facts. Mr. Rockefeller saw Dr. Harper, and while the proffers of Yale were accepted substantially, they were accepted in such a way that Dr. Harper was not bound by them to continue there indefinitely. And so the second difficulty was surmounted.

In the summer of 1889 President Dwight had finally succeeded in securing the endowment of the Woolsey chair of biblical literature to which Dr. Harper had been appointed two years before. He therefore wrote to Dr. Harper a congratulatory letter, saying: "And now all intending and approaching Baptists—*et id omne genus*—who from time to time are disposed to assail the tabernacles of the blessed saints, and run off with their professors, may have leave to withdraw. We do not wish any such people about Yale, looking after you."

In this same summer of 1889, on August 6, Dr. Harper wrote the following to me: "I have been under fire for some weeks past. I do not think any harm has been done. Men of all sorts have stood up for me and I feel more conservative and orthodox than ever before. It is a strange fact, and yet it is true, that all this noise and talk really make me conserva-

tive; not as naturally might be expected, the other way.

"We have had a most glorious season at Chautauqua. The increase in every department is over 40 per cent. We do not know what we are to do with the people who are to come in this week and next. As matters stand to-day the grounds are crowded. We have enrolled over 550 college students in four weeks as against 330 last year in six weeks. This does not include between 800 and 900 general students in special departments. The pressure has been very great, but I think I am coming through all right."

As a matter of fact he was approaching the limits of his strength. For almost the first time in his laborious life he was tired. At least, for perhaps the first time, he confessed it outside his family. Only three days after the foregoing letter another followed it, this one to Mr. Gates. In it he said: "I have decided to sail for Europe August 17. It is a case of necessity; I must go. To go through another Summer School and go right back to work seems to me almost impossible. The work here at Chautauqua has been very pressing, and indeed the whole year's work has been very trying. Four or five weeks will give me perfect rest." He always had to have some objective in view in addition to rest; in this case it was the annual meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists. It met that year in Stockholm, Sweden. On

the ocean voyage he made the acquaintance of Maud Ballington Booth and through her gained a fuller knowledge of the work of the Salvation Army. After attending the Congress he returned and again took up his work at Yale.

This year saw the end of the separate work of the Institute of Hebrew. The scope of the Summer Schools had been gradually enlarging till they were no longer simply Summer Schools of Hebrew, but included Greek and English and the study of both the Old and New Testaments. The Summer Schools and the Correspondence School finally resulted in the American Institute of Sacred Literature, which has continued its beneficent work down to the present time with increasing vigor and influence.

After President Dwight in 1889 had warned off "all intending and approaching Baptists," in 1890 they came on again, having now got their university, and were assailing "the tabernacles of the blessed saints" in stronger force and with greater determination than before. It is evident that as the University of Chicago project moved on to success the question had been more than once raised between President Dwight and his professor, that Dr. Harper had insisted that he had never mortgaged his entire future to Yale, and that President Dwight had been equally positive that he was not at liberty to leave. It will be recalled that at the first meeting of the Chicago

Board of Trustees, though Dr. Harper had not been formally appointed, it had been made clear to him that at the next meeting he would be made President. That first meeting was held July 9, 1890. Five days later he acquainted President Dwight with the condition of affairs, confessing in the most honorable way that the pull of the Chicago opportunity and duty was felt by him very strongly. President Dwight took the wrong course with him, and attempted to coerce him. He reminded him of all that had been done for him, of all that he himself had done to secure his position and declared bluntly that he could not honorably leave. The letter sounded as though it were intended and expected to close the case. But Dr. Harper was a hard man to drive. The attempt to do this was always a flat failure. Instead of closing the case, this letter left it very decidedly open. And so it remained for the six months following. Having made it clear that he did not feel that he had bound himself to Yale indefinitely, he went on with his duties.

Meantime, the interest manifested by the public became a burden to him. He was at once deluged with advice. As early as July 26, less than three weeks after the first Board meeting and before he was actually elected President, he wrote to Mr. Gates: "If ever a man had a subject on his mind, I have this one. It is with me day and night. I cannot throw if off. If I would others will not permit me.

It is becoming the torment of my life. Every mail brings letters; every newspaper contains a statement; every man who meets me makes a suggestion. I feel very much like packing my valise and leaving the country."

After the way was opened by Mr. Rockefeller for the proposed college to become in reality as well as in name the University of Chicago and he had been elected President, his friends saw with apprehension that he continued to be depressed. He expressed doubt whether the Theological Seminary and its friends would consider him sufficiently orthodox to warrant the union of the two institutions under his presidency. He would not be satisfied on this, though we sought to reassure him, until he had appeared before Messrs. Northrup, Hulbert, Gates and myself and fully stated his views on all the points in question and received our assurance that there was nothing in his views that should lead him to hesitate. This satisfied him for the moment, but for the moment only. He became moody and despondent. At length, two months later, in November, 1890, he wrote to me, suggesting that the subject should be gone over again. I was irritated by what seemed to be an attack of over-conscientiousness, and answered his letter, "We have settled that matter and I will not reopen it." The same course was taken by Mr. Rockefeller when he appealed the case from me to

him. As I have told this story very fully in the *History* of the University, I do not need to repeat it here. It is a story honorable to Dr. Harper and to all concerned. Dr. H. L. Morehouse had conducted the correspondence for Mr. Rockefeller. Dr. Harper was satisfied with the outcome. He did not want anyone to be able to say that he had concealed his views and made his way into the presidency under false pretences. He felt that he had made a case for the freedom of teaching. He wrote to Dr. Morehouse on February 7, 1891:

"My conscience is free. I have told 'the whole truth and nothing but the truth.' I am ready to go to Chicago; in fact, my resignation is now in the hands of President Dwight, and at such time as it may seem best I shall place my acceptance in the hands of the Chicago board. I do so, however, with the understanding that the platform is broad and free; that everybody has known beforehand my position and my situation and that I am free to do in the way of teaching what, under all the circumstances, seems to me wise."

As soon as the question was thus happily settled, Mr. Rockefeller forgot his reticence and wrote to Dr. Harper most cordially, entreating him to take a good rest, and saying, "And now, my dear Dr. Harper, I will not undertake to express what I feel toward you and your work, and could not if I would. My hopes

are high." Nothing could have been wiser than this advice to have a good rest, but it was wasted on Dr. Harper. He was looked upon at Yale as a man who needed no sleep. The students thought the light burned all night in his study in North College. At the farewell dinner given him when he left Yale, Professor T. D. Seymour told how he had often been driven by wakefulness to rise and go to his own study on the campus at 4 o'clock in the morning, and said that he usually encountered Dr. Harper leaving his study after a night with his books.

Every obstacle in our path was now cleared away. Dr. Harper no longer delayed his acceptance of the presidency, which was conveyed in the following letter:

"New Haven, Conn.
"February 16, 1891.

"*To the Trustees of The University of Chicago,*

"GENTLEMEN: After having considered the proffer of the presidency of The University of Chicago with which you honored me in September, 1890, I beg herewith to indicate my acceptance of the same. With your permission I will not enter upon the work of the position until July 1, 1891.

"I believe that, under your wise and liberal management and with the coöperation of the citizens of Chicago, the institution will fulfil the generous hopes of its friends and founders.

"It is with this conviction that I unreservedly place myself at your service.

"Trusting that the same divine Providence which has guided this undertaking in the past will continue to foster it through all the future, I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"William R. Harper."

This letter was laid before the Board of Trustees on April 11. Dr. Harper's salary was then fixed as President at $6,000 a year. He was also appointed head of the Semitic Department with a salary of $4,000, and was given such leave of absence between July 1, 1891, and the date of the opening of the University as he could spend abroad profitably for the University. And so he faced a new life and prepared to enter on his new career.

IV

THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE University of Chicago was the creation of President Harper. No president ever had a better Board of Trustees to co-operate with him, but the members of that Board would have been the first to say that he created it. Marshall Field had given the new institution a block and a half of ground and a block and a half had been purchased from him; and it had this beginning of a site on the Midway Plaisance connecting Washington and Jackson parks, the two great South Side parks of Chicago. The sum of $2,000,000 had been subscribed, most of it by one man, Mr. John D. Rockefeller. This seemed to most men a magnificent sum. Any other man made President would have been lifted up with pardonable pride over being exalted to this position, and contented himself with beginning such an institution as this great sum would maintain. But President Harper was of another spirit. He had dreams of a great University for Chicago and the West, in providing for even the beginning of which $2,000,000 was pitifully inadequate. I was with him during all the years of his

presidency and never saw the slightest indication that he prided himself on his position. So far from having any feeling of exaltation, he was much of the time—perhaps I ought to say, most of the time—depressed by the inadequacy of the means at his disposal compared with the vast plans for a university which he had conceived and never ceased to cherish. The Founder of the University poured out his money with unparalleled liberality, but the plans of President Harper for the Great University were so great and expansive that the munificence of one man alone could not meet their requirements.

As long as a college only was provided for in Chicago, though he was importuned to submit plans for its organization, his mind had remained barren of suggestions. But no sooner had the way been opened for a university than his imagination seized upon the problem of what that university ought to be. All his old dreams and plans of the Great University came back to him. His creative instinct at once awoke and his mind became abnormally busy. On his journey back to New Haven after his election to the presidency, and five months before he accepted the position, he began to work on his Educational Plan, and so rapidly did his mind operate that before the end of the journey the broad outlines of it had been sketched. As he himself wrote to Mr. Rockefeller as soon as he reached home: "On my way from Chicago the whole

President of the University of Chicago

thing outlined itself in my mind and I have a plan which is at the same time unique and comprehensive, which I am persuaded will revolutionize University study in this country. . . . . It is very simple, but thoroughgoing." He was not yet President of the University, not having accepted the place, but this plan was presented by him to the Board of Trustees at their fourth meeting, in December, 1890, adopted, and given to the public in *Official Bulletin No. 1.* This bulletin was followed by five others, filling out and elaborating the plan. Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, then professor of chemistry in the University of Wyoming, says that they fell like bombs into the educational life of the time. When the plan assumed its final form the University included these five divisions: the University Proper, the University Extension, the University Press, the University Libraries, Laboratories, and Museums, the University Affiliations.

It may be said of three of these divisions that they were new features in the organization of an American university—University Extension, the University Press, and University Affiliations. The other divisions were common in one form or another to all universities. These three were his own conceptions. It was his purpose to extend college and university instruction to the public at large, to make the University useful to other institutions and to expand its usefulness through its own press as widely as possible.

In other words, the keynote of the University of Chicago was service; service, not restricted to the students in its classrooms, but extended to all classes. Service was the purpose underlying the opening of the institution to men and women alike; and service to the students on the campus inspired the division of the academic year into four quarters—the autumn, winter, spring, and summer. The Summer Quarter was a startling innovation. It is a regular quarter of the year's work, and many students make use of it to finish their college course in three years. It enables students to take their vacations in the autumn, winter, or spring, and yet maintain their place in their classes. It gives thousands of graduate students, teachers, and college professors an opportunity to take advanced courses during the three months of the summer. The division of the college years into the junior and senior colleges, which has now become so general, while in line with policies earlier proposed by educators like Tappan and Folwell, was actually instituted by President Harper and was first seriously and successfully put into operation by him.

Athletics under faculty control, with a head coach who should be a member of the faculty, was another of the bold and far-seeing provisions of the new plan, the influence of which can hardly be estimated. Instead of the prevalent method of distributing the student's attention among half a dozen subjects,

President Harper proposed to have him concentrate upon three or even two at a time. Indeed he had seen what results could be gained from absorption in one single study for three or six weeks periods.

In all this, however, he was frankly experimenting, and honestly held himself ready to abandon any or all of his methods if they proved unsuccessful. The marvel of his educational policies is that so many of them became established successes, and have since been so widely adopted by progressive institutions of learning.

But I must not be betrayed into expounding and justifying President Harper's Educational Plan. To expound it would take too much space. It may be seen at work in the University he created. He was a man of large views. He planned the University for indefinite expansion and growth. As was said of Alexander Hamilton, "It was his policy and habit . . . . to compel the weaker brethren to consider plans that were too heroic for their natural timidity, confident that the diminished fabric would still be of an ampler proportion than if it had arisen from mean foundations." He believed in the future of Chicago as one of the greatest cities on the globe, and he planned and organized a University that should grow with and be worthy of the city whose name it bore. Twenty-two years after his death his plans continued to shape the development of the institution. His Edu-

cational Plan, novel, radical, a great educational experiment, modified in some particulars, but essentially the same, remained and promised to continue the University's fundamental law.

It was characteristic of the man that he had worked out this plan for the University's future before he accepted the presidency. He did not formally begin his term of active service for four months after his acceptance; but when that time came, July 1, 1891, he had actually been serving the institution in a most laborious and useful way for nine months, beginning on the very day of his election in September, 1890.

In addition to working out the Educational Plan he had also spent many months in securing the financial foundation for what became the Ogden Graduate School of Science. At the beginning of January, 1891, he learned of "a gentleman of large influence in Chicago who takes a strong interest in the new University," who wanted to confer with him on the possibility of an endowment for scientific studies. He was asked to name as early a date as possible for the interview. Dr. Harper named so early a date that in less than a week the interview was held. The man who sought the interview proved to be Mr. Andrew H. Green, one of the executors and trustees under the will of William B. Ogden, who had been a citizen of Chicago and first mayor of the city, and had been

for many years president of the Board of Trustees of the first University of Chicago. Mr. Ogden had left a considerable bequest to charities, making Mr. Green and Mrs. Ogden the executors and trustees of the estate. Mr. Green asked Dr. Harper to draft a scheme for such a school as was desired. He was not yet President of the University and was a very busy man; but eight days later, on January 19, 1891, he wrote to Mr. Green that it was one of the most cherished plans of those connected with the proposed University to "devote special attention to the encouragement of scientific research." In an elaborate discussion of the scope and conduct of the School he said that it would be a Graduate School of Science, that fellowships for advanced students would be provided for as well as the support of professors, that provision would be made for scientific investigation as well as instruction, more emphasis to be put on the ability of professors to investigate than on their ability to teach, that the School would include "at least the departments of Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology and Mineralogy, and Astronomy," that the professors would be given every encouragement to publish the results of their investigations, and that "the entire graduate work of the University in the subjects mentioned" would be done in connection with this School of Science. The plans thus outlined pleased Mr. Green, but months followed before a

final result was reached. Dr. Harper made every effort to hasten action by the executors and on the last day of June, 1891, the papers were executed which secured to the University "seventy per cent of the monies to be devoted to charities" under Mr. Ogden's will. With the $600,000 ultimately received under this action the way was opened for the Ogden Graduate School of Science.

It will be recalled that the Trustees proposed to the newly elected President that he should spend as much time abroad as he thought he could use profitably for the University. After conducting his summer work at Chautauqua he made this trip. Professor James H. Breasted, the famous Egyptologist, was one of his students in Yale at that time. Before closing his work there, Dr. Harper had learned, in a casual walk across the Yale campus, of Mr. Breasted's interest in Egyptian. Dr. Breasted writes me: "Professor Harper turned upon me with that quick and almost peremptory decisiveness of which he was sometimes capable, seized me by both lapels of my student jacket and said, 'Breasted, if you will go to Germany and get the best possible scientific equipment, no matter if it takes you five years, I will give you the professorship of Egyptian in the new University of Chicago. Come to my office in North College this evening at twelve o'clock and we will talk it over." Such was the beginning of Professor Breasted's career as an

Egyptologist. Dr. Harper and his family, with a small group of students, of whom Mr. Breasted was one, sailed for Germany in August, 1891, on the "Normania." As soon as they arrived in Berlin, Mr. Breasted's services were requisitioned, as he relates, "in the search for comfortable living quarters for the entire party. We finally found very comfortable lodgings for Professor Harper and his family in a large court or short street off the aristocratic Buelowstrasse. Here I used to sit in the garden for long hours reading aloud simple German stories to Professor Harper in order that he might accustom his ear to *spoken* German. He read German without difficulty, but had never learned to understand it when spoken. He said, 'I haven't the slightest ear for spoken language.' In the midst of these reading sessions he would sometimes rise from his chair, walk up and down very rapidly, and set forth with great volubility some new idea for the development of the University of Chicago. He used to sit for hours at a window in his rooms with pencil and paper, writing out thoughts and plans and recording the new ideas in which his mind was so amazingly fertile." He utilized his time in Berlin by securing an option for the purchase by the University of the Calvary library, a collection of more than 200,000 books, manuscripts, and pamphlets, which would help to make a great beginning of the libraries. In estimating the number

and value of the books he secured the assistance of two officials of the Royal Library of Berlin. After his return to Chicago, he secured from trustees and friends of the University the purchase price, $45,000, and the great collection was bought. While abroad he had visited great scholars, discussing the future of the proposed new University and establishing relations with men, like the Greek scholar, Caspar René Gregory, who later visited Chicago and taught in the summer and other quarters. He found it possible to remain abroad only two months. The University was to open its doors to students October 1, 1892, and a world of work was to be done in preparation for that great event. A faculty was to be secured, buildings were to be erected, and additional funds were to be found. President Harper, therefore, hastened his return, leaving his family behind him, and the last week in October found him in Chicago. A house was found for him on Washington (now Blackstone) Avenue, one door north of Fifty-seventh Street, five blocks east of the University; and here, as soon as they returned in the following spring, his family was settled.

In October, 1891, a busy year confronted the new president and he lost no time in beginning his labors. A meeting of the Trustees was held within a week after his return to Chicago, at which he presented the matter of the Calvary library and was authorized to purchase it. On November 16 it was voted that

efforts be made to raise at the earliest possible moment $1,000,000, to be expended on the grounds, buildings, and general equipment, and that a lecture hall and three dormitories be built at once at a cost which ultimately approached $400,000. At the same meeting it was voted that plans be prepared for a library, a museum, a gymnasium, and a dormitory for women. On December 29 the purchase of an additional block of ground was authorized at a cost of $150,000, and the campus was made to consist of four blocks of ground, about 24 acres, fronting south for two blocks on the Midway Plaisance, between Ellis and Lexington (now University) avenues. Between October 27, 1891, and February 23, 1892, a period of less than four months, eight meetings of the full board were held, and two or three times as many of Standing Committees on Buildings and Grounds, Finance and Investment, and Organization and Faculties. The Trustees were busy men and the President was most busy of all. He was planning to build a university greater in its scope than anyone suspected. He was afraid to tell anyone how vast these plans of his were. But no one saw so clearly how inadequate a financial foundation existed on which to build as he had planned, and no one felt so keenly the need of raising quickly large additional sums of money. The way did not open at once for beginning the campaign for the million dollars for buildings and equipment.

Additional money for endowments, which he knew to be essential, did not come. Mr. Gates, who represented Mr. Rockefeller, tried in every way to cheer him, but with little effect. So much had to be done in so short a time before the day fixed for the opening of the work of instruction that a month seemed to him like a year while he toiled in vain to find a way to make a beginning in securing the funds he needed. As a matter of fact, only three or four months passed before light began to appear through the clouds. Early in 1892 Sidney A. Kent of Chicago indicated his purpose to build a chemical laboratory. At the end of February Mr. Rockefeller gave another million dollars for endowment. This great contribution stirred Chicago, and Marshall Field said the city must give a million for the buildings. President Harper immediately entered into negotiations with him, and on April 9 Mr. Field subscribed $100,000, conditioning his gift on a full million dollars being secured by July 10, 1892. This was a tremendous undertaking, seeming to many quite impossible of accomplishment. It did not seem so to President Harper. Through the three months that followed I think he never lost heart, though there were many heartbreaking disappointments. Through all these the work went steadily on. Mr. Kent increased his subscription to $235,000; Martin A. Ryerson, the president of the Board of Trustees, gave $150,000; Silas B. Cobb,

$150,000; George C. Walker, one of the Trustees, $135,000; Mrs. Elizabeth Kelly, $50,000; and Mrs. Nancy A. Foster, $50,000. Some additional smaller subscriptions were secured. The closing week came. On July 2 the workers were sitting in the University office in a somewhat subdued frame of mind. It was about 4 o'clock and they were reminding themselves that, as the next day was Sunday and Monday was the Fourth of July, they had only five working days left. At that moment a messenger from Mrs. Jerome Beecher came in and said that she had sent him to say that she might be depended on for $50,000. Seldom have men been so uplifted. They were inspired with new hope and new purpose. President Harper went at once and called on Mrs. A. J. Snell and three days later received from her $50,000. The last day of the campaign was Saturday, July 9; and when, on that day, the Trustees assembled to learn the result, the President was able to announce that a little over $1,000,000 had been subscribed. To crown the work, Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson, the Treasurer of the University, read a paper signed by twenty of the leading business men of the city, pledging themselves pro rata for any deficiency up to $100,000, the signers being as follows: H. N. Higinbotham, Charles L. Hutchinson, H. H. Kohlsaat, Henry H. Getty, Ferdinand W. Peck, Clarence I. Peck, Charles Counselman, E. Buckingham, Henry Botsford, Ernest A.

Hamill, Byron L. Smith, Edwin G. Foreman, William T. Baker, T. J. Lefens, John J. Mitchell, A. A. Sprague, O. S. A. Sprague, A. C. Bartlett, John R. Walsh, and Henry A. Rust. This paper had been circulated without President Harper's knowledge. He learned of it a few days before the end, but it only spurred him to more energetic effort. And thus was the impossible accomplished and the million dollars raised in ninety days. This fund secured the erection of eight buildings (in addition to the Divinity and Graduate dormitories, which were under construction), and began that extraordinary material expansion which has continued to this day. President Harper was indeed creating the University.

But endowments, books, and buildings do not make a University, and to the efforts to provide these was added the work of finding students, securing professors, and organizing and conducting the work of instruction. And these two lines of work had to be carried on together. In the matter of finding students, indeed, it must be said that they found and offered themselves. The new University had made such an impression on the public imagination that during the two years from September, 1890, to the opening, on October 1, 1892, nearly 3,000 inquiries from possible students were received without any effort whatever on the part of the President and his associates. But every letter required an answer, and

many inquiries had to be answered by the President himself. These demands on his time became so great that not only did he prepare the Official Bulletins and have them sent to inquiring students, but in July, 1891, he had Frank F. Abbott, of Yale University, appointed Examiner to conduct the correspondence with prospective students, and he was busy with that work from September, 1891, to October, 1892. He greatly relieved the President, but they had offices together and questions without number had to be referred to the higher officer.

The gathering of the first faculty is an entirely different story. It is true that the public interest awakened in the new University led many scholars and teachers to apply to President Harper for positions on the faculty and to increase immensely his correspondence. Nearly a thousand such applications were received by him, and as he answered all such letters courteously they made great demands on his time and strength. A few of these applicants proved to be men he wanted, but for the most part the members of the teaching staff had to be looked for by him and by his own personal labors persuaded to cast in their fortunes with the new institution. He had high ideals of what a university professor should be. He must be a teacher, but first and foremost he must be a scholar, in love with learning, with a passion for research, an investigator who could at the same

time produce, and, if what he produced was worthy, would wish to publish his results. President Harper was endowed with a kind of intuitive recognition of a scholar, which enabled him to select a faculty of scholars. In dealing with those he wanted to engage, he had personal charm, a power to make his theme interesting, and a contagious enthusiasm that often won even the most reluctant. This work of finding a faculty went on even during the raising of the million dollars in ninety days. In the midst of that laborious campaign, on June 1, 1892, Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, afterward the second President of the University, came from the University of Minnesota to take the chair of history and the deanship of the colleges, and to assist President Harper in organizing the work of the institution in preparation for the opening in October. The salary for a head professor was originally fixed at $6,000 per year, but after nine months of effort President Harper reported that he could not induce a man of the type that he desired as head professor to take the risk of being the first to ally himself with the new institution. He was in negotiation with William Gardner Hale and J. Laurence Laughlin, of Cornell, to head the departments of Latin and Political Economy. On December 29, 1891, the Trustees raised the salary to the then unheard-of figure of $7,000, a very much larger sum then than now. This announcement made a great sensation. It

was as though a modern educator were to fix the salary of his heads of departments at $15,000. With this new argument, and with the advantage that each of them mutually lent support and courage to the other, he induced them to accept the headships of the two departments. They were men already distinguished for learning and ability, and widely known through their books, and they threw themselves heartily into the work of organizing the new institution and especially into helping to persuade other men to come. Dr. Albion W. Small, president of Colby University, was made head of the Department of Sociology. James H. Tufts, later Vice-President of the University, was appointed in Philosophy; Starr W. Cutting, later head of his department, in German; Carl D. Buck, also later head of the department, in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology; and A. A. Stagg, the best known college athlete of that period, Director of Physical Culture and Athletics. Hermann E. von Holst was made head professor of History, coming from the University of Freiburg, Germany. Richard Green Moulton came for a single year in University Extension and remained for life. E. Hastings Moore came from Northwestern University to the professorship of Mathematics and later became head of the department.

In the early months of 1892 there occurred one of the most interesting and important events in Presi-

dent Harper's work in securing his first faculty. An exceptionally able group of scientific professors was gathered at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. It came to President Harper's knowledge that, owing to unsatisfactory internal conditions, they wished to find favorable openings elsewhere. An opportunity was presented to make, at a single stroke, the scientific departments of the University equal to those of the leading institutions of the country. The temptation was irresistible, though the funds were not in sight to provide for the large expenditure. Fifteen men were appointed in the midst of the campaign for the million dollars in ninety days, and the scientific departments were made as strong as the humanistic. It was a great step in the dark, a great venture of faith. Among these fifteen men were the now world-famous A. A. Michelson, who was made head professor of Physics; C. O. Whitman, who became head of Biology; J. U. Nef, who was head of Chemistry; Jacques Loeb, H. H. Donaldson, and others who became distinguished in research. In making these appointments, President Harper was tempted beyond what he was able to bear and beyond what his resources could bear. But his power of resistance having broken down before that great temptation, he was helpless before the one that immediately followed. He learned that Dr. T. C. Chamberlin, president of the University of Wisconsin, was weary of

administrative work and might welcome a call to the headship of Geology. Negotiations followed, and in May Dr. Chamberlin was appointed; and, a month later, Rollin D. Salisbury, his professor of Geology, was made professor in the same department. These appointments from Clark and Wisconsin established the reputation of the scientific departments and fixed the place of the University as the peer of the best institutions of the country. Nothing could better show the breadth and vision of President Harper than the standard and scale upon which he, a philologist and theologian, established his scientific departments.

Professor E. D. Burton, later the third President of the University; Charles R. Henderson, who, serving in Sociology, was also the beloved Chaplain as long as he lived; Paul Shorey, who later became head of the Department of Greek, and S. W. Stratton, now President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, were among the happy appointments of 1892.

About June 1, 1892, as Secretary, I published the following statement: "In all departments sixty instructors have now been elected. The number will be increased by ten or twelve additional names, and then as far as the faculties are concerned, the University will be ready to receive its students." I thought I was giving out authoritative information. The President, however, driven as he felt by neces-

sity, recommended and the Trustees appointed, not ten or twelve more, but sixty, until in the end the appointments for the first year amounted to one hundred and twenty.

The faculty appointments of the first year included nine women. After a long negotiation, President Harper secured Alice Freeman Palmer, former President of Wellesley, as Dean of Women. In all the departments he sought the most distinguished scholars and teachers he could find. He did not hesitate to approach the presidents of the higher institutions. There were eight of these in the faculty of the first year, and before that year was over this number was increased to nine. The more eminent a teacher was, the more the President wanted him. He rejoiced in the growing reputation of members of his faculties as though it were his own. Every distinction they received gave him pleasure, and he watched the development of growing scholars with joy and pride.

During this hectic year of 1891–92 Mr. Gates visited us and was astonished to find how busy we were at the University offices in the Chamber of Commerce building in the center of the business district of Chicago. He wrote us a five-page letter on the subject, closing with these words: "My soul burned within me at the abuses by which your time, the most precious of that of any human lives in my acquaintance, is being stolen from you by a proces-

sion of well-meaning thieves, among them, Ever yours, Gates." Just before the year began, the President had visited the South and spoken at the Southern Baptist Convention and elsewhere, when, as Mr. Gates reported, he "captured the South and doubled the constituency of the University." In July, 1891, the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Colby University. One would suppose the year gave him enough to do in creating the University. But that would be quite to mistake the sort of man he was. In the beginning of March, 1892, he delivered the Levering Lectures at Johns Hopkins. He made an address before the principals of the Chicago schools. He wrote an article for the *Golden Rule* on "Dangers That Meet the Young in a College Life," and promised Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler another on "The Educational Policy of the University of Chicago" for the *Educational Review*. Walter Hines Page, then editor of the *Forum*, asked him for an article on "The Pay of Professors in Colleges," which he promised to write. These are only examples of the outside things he did during this eventful year. He was meanwhile continuing his work for Chautauqua and his Summer and Correspondence Schools. This loading himself down with outside work brought strong protests from the friends of the University. They produced no immediate effect, but they never ceased to plead with him to concentrate his work on the

University. So far as Chautauqua was concerned, he insisted then and later that his connection with that movement increased his acquaintance with educators, brought students to the University every year, and was in many ways advantageous to its work. The ninety days of the campaign for the million dollars had only just ended, therefore, when he left Chicago for Chautauqua and, when most men would have craved rest, entered on the strenuous labors of a summer of teaching and administration.

President Harper and the University had the good fortune to have Mr. Martin A. Ryerson as president of the Board of Trustees and chairman of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds. He was of the same age as the President, and by natural endowments, training, disposition, and fortune was preeminently qualified for the service he has rendered to the University. He co-operated with the President in determining the style and high quality of the buildings and their distribution on the quadrangles. The first buildings were the general recitation building, Cobb Lecture Hall, and the Graduate and Divinity dormitories connected with it on the south. These buildings were not entirely finished, indeed, but ready for occupancy on October 1, 1892, the day of the University opening. President Harper, Dr. Judson, and everybody responsible had been feverishly busy, preparing for that great day. It had been determined,

after much consideration, that the opening should be the most unpretentious possible. The north section of the first floor of Cobb Hall had been set apart as the general assembly room and chapel. The opening day was really a great day. But it passed as quietly as any ordinary day. At 8:30, Saturday morning, October 1, 1892, the professors were in their classrooms, the classes were in their places, and the exercises proceeded throughout the morning as quietly and smoothly as if the University had been going twenty years. At 12:30 faculties, Trustees, and students, with some outside friends, assembled, and the President conducted the simplest of chapel services. At the October opening of every year substantially the same program, in all its simplicity, is still repeated as the Anniversary chapel assembly.

This first year was one of extraordinary events. As the University opened, an opportunity presented itself to secure a great telescope, which was then in process of construction, the largest of the refracting type in the world. President Harper, in connection with Mr. George E. Hale, the young astronomer of the University, laid this matter before Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, who took immediate steps to enable the University to secure this great prize. Mr. Yerkes also undertook to provide a building to house the telescope and later built the Yerkes Observatory at Williams Bay, overlooking Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

No one saw more clearly than did President Harper that in his determination to make it what he thought it ought to be, he had organized the University on a scale of expenditure not warranted by its resources. He had done this deliberately, in the confident expectation that the necessary resources could and would be found. But no man was ever more determined or worked harder to find a way of deliverance. On Christmas Day, 1892, there was received from Mr. Rockefeller a third $1,000,000 subscription, payable one year later. The President had hoped for this three months before, on the day of opening. He had been much depressed at not receiving it, and continued much depressed throughout the first quarter. This great and splendid promise for endowment cheered President Harper, but, as will appear later, did not relieve all his anxieties. And so with great reason for encouragement came the end of the quarter.

Instead of the ordinary commencement of most universities, celebrated once a year, President Harper arranged for a Convocation, at first held at the opening but soon shifted to the close of each of the four quarters of the year. Degrees were to be conferred, an oration pronounced, a statement made by the President on the condition of the University, and the officers, together with all receiving degrees, were to wear the academic cap and gown. It is not too much to say that the thing that awakened the great-

est interest on these occasions was President Harper's statement. For making this he prepared with extreme care. As he was creating a University he had much to say. As the University had no place in which to gather a large assembly some of the earlier Convocations were held in the Central Music Hall at the southeast corner of Randolph and State streets, in the business center of the city. The first Convocation was held on January 2, 1893, when Professor von Holst delivered the address, to an audience filling the hall, on "The Need of Universities in the United States." The President's statement followed. Always interesting, he was never more interesting than in this first Convocation Statement. He said:

"It is impossible for some of us not to go back in thought a year. . . . . A year ago the foundations of the first buildings had just been placed. . . . . A year ago the grounds were a desolation and a waste. . . . . A year ago a University had been announced and the announcement had gone to every corner of the earth, but the University was still on paper, and the funds in hand . . . . were entirely inadequate . . . . in all, about $3,000,000.

"A year ago only two men had received appointments in the faculty and entered upon their work, and in all not ten men had indicated their consent to serve the University as instructors. . . . . What is to-night the condition of the University?

"The dormitory for men has been completed and every room is occupied. The lecture hall, provided for by Mr. Silas B. Cobb, is finished and crowded to overflowing with instructors and students. Temporary buildings of a most convenient character have been erected for the library and for the work of physical culture. A chemical laboratory, the gift of Mr. S. A. Kent, to be the largest and best equipped in the country, is almost ready for the roof. A museum, the gift of Mr. George C. Walker, is under way. Dormitory buildings for women, the gifts of Mrs. Kelly, Mrs. Foster, and Mrs. Beecher, are rapidly approaching completion. A new dormitory for men, the gift of Mrs. Snell, is under roof. The plans have been made and bids received for the erection of a physical laboratory, the gift of Mr. Martin A. Ryerson, and the work on it will begin at once. . . . . .

"The financial history of the year is not an uninteresting one. There came to the University in February last the third great gift of Mr. Rockefeller of $1,000,000. . . . . In ninety days the men and women of Chicago subscribed more than a million dollars for buildings and general equipment. The entire history of education records nothing of a similar character." He went on to speak of the Observatory and telescope, a gift to the cause of science "for which a thousand years hence men will be profoundly grateful. It is not generally known

that the University will be the recipient, through the kindness and liberality of Mr. William E. Hale and Professor George Hale, father and son, of the instruments and apparatus of Kenwood Observatory, a gift valued at not less than $30,000." He then gave an account of the Ogden bequest for the establishment of the "Ogden Scientific School for advanced investigation in pure science."

"But again the question arose, did those most closely interested in the University realize that even yet its funds were not sufficient for the work which it had undertaken? . . . . The question was asked and the answer to it came last week in the fourth, the latest—not the last—great gift of Mr. Rockefeller, [another million dollars]. Other gifts, large and small, amounting to more than a quarter of a million dollars, have come to us within the last few weeks. . . . . Within the year gifts have been made exceeding $4,000,000.

"The financial progress has been great, but in other respects the advance has been still greater. Instead of the two men in the faculty a year ago there are to-day at work one hundred and twenty. . . . .

"The facts regarding students are of interest. The total enrollment has been 594, and of these 166 are pursuing studies for the advanced degrees in the Graduate School. . . . . Thirty-three States and thirteen foreign countries are represented." The Pres-

ident spoke of the great work being done in University Extension and by the University Press. He spoke on the needs of the University, which were always before him. He spoke of the work as one "the magnitude of which no man can estimate." He concluded thus:

"Will not those men and women to whose liberality the University owes its existence recognize still more clearly than before, the greatness of the work undertaken, the Divine guidance in it all, and the fact that what they have done has been done for all eternity?"

This first Convocation was a great event in President Harper's life. It was the culmination of years of hopes, plans, and struggles, and his public entrance on his real career. It ought to have been an occasion of unalloyed satisfaction to him. But no one knew better than he did that the very successes achieved had involved him and the institution in the gravest financial difficulties. He was fortunate in having at his right hand as president of the Board of Trustees a man like Mr. Ryerson, who was able to give him not only sympathy and advice, but also the help that was indispensable. At the beginning of February, 1893, Mr. Ryerson subscribed $100,000 on condition that a total of $500,000 was secured, "to meet the exceptional expenses of organization and the pressing demands for general improvements and equip-

ment" The President gave himself with absolute devotion to the effort to raise this half-million dollars. Our first efforts were defeated by the great financial panic of 1893. Mr. Rockefeller generously gave $150,000 toward current expenses. Meantime, obligations increased and Mr. Ryerson advanced his $100,000 to meet them and keep the University's credit good. The half-million was secured, but only after a long and heart-breaking struggle. In October, 1893, Mr. Rockefeller had subscribed another half-million, on condition the Ryerson half-million was subscribed by July 1, 1894. It was in connection with this effort that President Harper obtained from Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell a gift of $100,000 for the Haskell Oriental Museum.

The labors connected with this creation of a University were enough to keep the most industrious man busy. But they did not exhaust the activities of President Harper. From the beginning he did the full work of a professor in the Semitic Department, which had been transferred from the Divinity School and made a part of the graduate work of the University. In addition to the regular work of a professor, on Sunday afternoons he lectured to large audiences on the Bible. He did much editorial work on *Hebraica* and the *Biblical World*, which were now published by the University. He was in correspondence with distinguished scholars in the United States

and Europe. He was importuned for articles by various journals. There is no better illustration of the way in which he continually overloaded himself with work than his correspondence with Mr. Walter Hines Page, so eminent later as President Wilson's ambassador to Great Britain. From 1890 to 1895, Mr. Page was editor of the *Forum*. In June, 1892, he asked Dr. Harper for an article on the pay of professors, which the overburdened scholar undertook to write. His multitudinous tasks delayed its preparation. Meantime, Mr. Page continued in the gentlest way to ask for the promised article. In one of his letters he points out that Dr. Harper had done more to raise the standard of professors' salaries than any other man in America. Dates were repeatedly set for the article's appearance and still it was not forthcoming. Twenty or more letters and telegrams from the sorely tried editor are in the files and after fifteen months he was rewarded and the article on "The Pay of College Professors" appeared in the *Forum* of September, 1893. This was a frequent experience of editors with an overworked man whose ambition to do things that ought to be done sometimes led him to undertake more than he had time and strength to perform. In 1893 the World's Columbian Exposition was held in Chicago and President Harper was made chairman of the Advisory Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary Department of Higher Education. He was

asked to serve in conjunction with President Gilman of Johns Hopkins as presiding officer for the first day's session of the Congress of Higher Education. He was also intimately associated with Dr. John Henry Barrows in the World's Parliament of Religions held the same summer.

Many misrepresentations of President Harper's views were made from time to time in the public press. The tendency to believe evil of our fellows caused these statements to be taken for truth and prejudiced many good people against him. It was a rule with him, from which he rarely departed, to pay no attention to these attacks on his orthodoxy. He had no taste for controversy. His teaching was not destructive but constructive. About this period a constant attendant on his lectures in Chautauqua wrote him: "If anyone will follow you closely to the end of your exposition and not let their mind run on the consequences of any doubt you might raise in their mind, when you are through they will have a wonderful revelation and no doubts." This indeed was the effect of all his studies on his own mind. He remained to the end a firm believer in all the essentials of the Christian faith. In 1893–94 some of the newspapers made the particularly injurious report that in one of his lectures on Sunday afternoons at the University on "The Stories of Genesis" he had said: "The story of the murder of Abel by his brother

Cain is a myth. It is no more the truth so far as we know than the myth of the capture of Troy by means of a wooden horse, or the founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus." He thought it necessary to answer this through the public press. In doing this he said, among other things, "(1) That no such statement as the first, quoted above, occurred in the lecture referred to; (2) That a statement practically the opposite was made." These denials he substantiated by quotations from the lecture, which had been carefully written and was printed in full in the *Biblical World*. But the misrepresentation had been reprinted by other papers and went all over the country, while little publicity followed the correction; and many people, good and bad alike, concluded that the man who had done more than any other man of his generation to revive and popularize the study of the Bible did not believe in it himself.

Before the end of the University's first year President Andrews of Brown University wrote President Harper: "There is no earthly reason why the new University should not very speedily rise to be one of the greatest powers in this part of the educational world. I fully expect that it will. Eliot believes the same."

It will be recalled that President Harper in his Educational Plan made the University Press an organic part of the educational work of the University.

There was never a greater believer in the power of the printed page as an instrument of education. When he was called upon, therefore, to organize the University, it was to him unthinkable that a university press should not be an organic part of it. This was a new idea to most of his Trustees. It was likely to cost a great deal of money and there was no money for it. The Trustees felt that there could be a university without a press—no American university at that time had one—but not so President Harper. He was determined that there should be a University of Chicago Press and nothing could shake that purpose. Had it not been for this unshakable purpose there would have been no Press. As there was no money, recourse was had at the outset to outside printers and publishers, and it was not till 1894 that the University itself fully took over the work. It was, again, a serious trial of the faith of the Trustees when the President proposed the publication of journals. They hesitated long and yielded only because of his insistence on the educational value of the policy, in which he was a firm believer. The first of the University journals was the *Journal of Political Economy*, which was followed almost immediately by the *Journal of Geology*, both appearing in the first half of the first year. Before the end of that year the *Biblical World* and the *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, both taken over from the Institute of

Sacred Literature, and the *University Extension World* appeared, to be followed in 1895 by the *Astrophysical Journal* and the *American Journal of Sociology*, and in 1896 by the *Botanical Gazette*, the *School Review*, and the *University Record*, which succeeded the *Quarterly Calendar*. In 1897 the *American Journal of Theology* was launched. A bookstore was established. Many books were published, and, after a precarious existence, during which it was maintained only by the faith and dogged determination of the President, the Press at length became a great, flourishing, and highly useful institution which justified the faith and far-sighted intelligence of the man who conceived it, and since then the policy of conducting a university press has been adopted by many leading American universities.

Few things so interesting or so extraordinary in results occurred in the early history of the University as the institution of the Summer Quarter. There was only one real summer quarter in any university, that of Chicago. The University year consisted of four quarters—Summer, Autumn, Winter, and Spring—of eleven or twelve weeks each. The Summer Quarter was not a mere summer school but a University quarter, during which the institution was in regular session, with a full corps of instructors in all departments and with students doing their regular university work from the Freshman just entering the jun-

ior college up through all grades and departments to the man or woman doing the most advanced work and receiving at the end of it the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Such a Summer Quarter was quite unknown. To institute it would be a new experiment in university education. The experiment was tried for the first time in the summer of 1894, the first quarter of the third year. It was the great inspiration of President Harper's Educational Plan. From the first it was inspiringly successful. One of the things that surprised many was the annually increasing number of graduate students it attracted. This did not surprise the President. It was only what he expected. He made every effort to increase its value to advanced students, bringing to it as teachers and lecturers eminent instructors from the universities of America and Europe. In the summer of 1894 there were 605 students. In 1895 there were 932, and it has continued to grow until the attendance has reached 6,500. The extraordinary success of the Summer Quarter was one of the great gratifications of President Harper's life. He never ceased to rejoice in it.

The altogether novel plan of holding Convocation at the end of each quarter, or four times a year, made it possible for a student to receive his degree as soon as he finished his work for it, and proved of incalculable service to hundreds of energetic, ambitious young people. It imposed heavy burdens upon the

President and the administration, for all the social and other functions attendant upon commencement had to be repeated quarterly. From these burdens the President did not shrink, but so thoroughly prepared his Convocation Statement that it became the point of greatest interest in every Convocation. He made this his platform for addressing the city, the benefactors of the University, the faculty, and the Trustees, as well as the candidates taking degrees. In these statements which might have been so official and dry, the President did no small part of his work as an educator, steadily expounding his great ideals for the University, his insistence upon research in every field of knowledge, the need for far greater funds for education than people had thought necessary for it before, the duty of professors to the University, and of the public to higher education. In this way he kept the work of the University continually before the city which came to feel that it was in a measure in his confidence and understood his purposes.

The careful and complete *President's Report*, which he in 1898 began to have printed in a volume as one of the official publications of the University, gives further evidence of the work that he put into what might be thought the routine of his office. In 1901 this *Report*, covering the first ten years of his Presidency, made a quarto volume of 574 pages,

one-fourth of it from the President's own hand, and formed Volume I of the Decennial Publications then issued.

While Dr. Harper grasped large plans in outline, he had a remarkable gift for working these plans out into the minutest details. It fell to me to be in intimate official relations with him. At our business conferences the President would frequently begin by saying, "I have forty points to be discussed this morning." He kept a "red book" in which he wrote out the points to be worked out by himself or discussed with his subordinates. There are a dozen or more of these red books in the University archives. Under every general subject there are written, in his hand, from ten to a hundred and fifty points for consideration or discussion. An officer would often carry away from a conference twenty questions to work out, on which he was expected to report. In his class lectures, too, the same minute analysis led him sometimes to dictate scores of suggestive headings for investigation.

In the summer of 1896 the Haskell Oriental Museum was dedicated. Up to that time the President's office had been in a large room in the south end of Cobb Hall. His roll-top desk stood in the east end and a long table extended toward the west, round which the faculties or committees sat. After the completion of Haskell his office was transferred to a room

of about the same size and similarly furnished in the south end of the first floor of that building. There the President's office continued during the rest of his life. Connected with it were the rooms of his stenographers and outside these was a large waiting-room. The desk finally passed into the possession of the Dean of the Divinity School. When Swift Hall was built it was placed in his office in that building and continued to be used by him. It bears this inscription, placed upon it by President Judson: "This desk was used by William Rainey Harper, First President of the University of Chicago, from October, 1892, to January, 1906."

The work of the President's office was admirably organized. Dr. Harper established the rule that every letter that came to it must have an answer and a courteous answer. His personal secretary for many years was Miss M. Rena Cobb, who gave him most able and loyal service, and was of the greatest assistance to him. Robert Morss Lovett was appointed Assistant to the President in 1894. He was followed in that position by Hervey Foster Mallory (1896–97). In 1897 the position of Secretary to the President was established. It was held by Francis Wayland Shepardson from 1897 until 1904, when Henry Porter Chandler succeeded him, occupying the post during the trying days of the President's long illness. All these men were of course very closely associated

with the President, and deeply devoted to him, and rendered him very faithful and important service.

President Harper had an exceedingly attractive personality. He soon won the affection of his Board of Trustees. They did not always agree with him and felt free to express their views, but they loved him so well that they were disposed to do what he wanted even when dissenting from his plans. In the same way he won the personal love of his faculty and, while they sometimes differed from him, so strong was the bond of affection that bound them to him that a remarkable spirit of harmony and unity prevailed in the faculties throughout his administration. The same relation existed between him and the students. He interested himself in all their activities, the launching of the student papers, the formation of societies, the student athletics, the University band —everything that entered into their life. As a consequence a relation of mutual confidence and understanding existed between the President and the student body, which made the internal life of the institution orderly and dignified.

The people of Chicago, too, very soon came to feel the force and charm of his personality, and to take a pride in him and his work. The late Mr. Marvin Hughitt, a few months before his death, related to the writer a conversation he once had with President Harper. Greatly impressed with his organizing ca-

pacity, Mr. Hughitt had said to him, "The fact is, Dr. Harper, you ought to have my position; that is where you belong." "Why, Mr. Hughitt," said the President, very much astonished, "what do you mean?" "Just what I say," answered Mr. Hughitt, "You ought to be president of the North Western Railway in my place; you could run it better than I can."

This was the general impression of his capacity as an executive. Mr. Walter Hines Page, visiting the American Educational Association in annual session at Buffalo in 1896, thought it, as he wrote to President Harper, the most interesting group of people he had ever seen together, in point of social significance. But he went on to say, "In spite of the impressiveness of the meeting at Buffalo, I was struck with the fact that there was not a single man nor woman there, so far as I could find out, really of first-rate ability. I was talking about this to a group of very thoughtful men and women at Buffalo, and I will shock you by reporting what one of them said. 'The truth is there are only three men of first-rate ability engaged in education in the United States, men, that is, as able as railroad presidents, or great manufacturers or great merchants.' When the question was asked who these three men are the speaker said, 'Presidents Eliot, Harper, and Jordan.'"

For some years prior to 1894 President Harper had been Principal of the Chautauqua system of edu-

cation. He came to occupy a great place in its work. Some years after Bishop Vincent's retirement, when talking with me one day, he said: "I had all I could do to keep Dr. Harper from swallowing up the whole thing!" So extraordinary were his educational insight and imagination, his creative energy, and his organizing genius that in every institution of education with which he was closely associated and deeply concerned, his power was felt immediately and as time went on his influence became more and more dominant. But he had in hand a greater work, and in 1894 he reluctantly gave up part of his Chautauqua work, to his own relief and the great gratification of his associates in the University. While thus relieving himself in one direction, however, he could not resist the temptation to take on other scholarly work. He accepted an invitation to prepare articles on several books of the Old Testament for a new dictionary of the Bible on which the ablest biblical scholars of the world were engaged.

During this time, also, he was at work revising the translation of Isaiah and the Minor Prophets for the American Baptist Publication Society. This work continued throughout the rest of his life, and the new translation of the Bible was not published till 1910.

In 1895 the University built the President's House on the northeast corner of Fifty-ninth Street and Lexington, now University, Avenue. President Har-

per and his family took possession of it in that year, and for the rest of his life he made it his home. It was a commodious house with large rooms for social purposes. It cannot be said to have made the President's burdens lighter, for there were guests at dinner almost every evening, and many eminent scholars from all parts of the world were entertained, sometimes for weeks together. The President's receptions on the evening before Convocation and the matutinal breakfasts for students taking higher degrees at each Convocation were regularly held in the President's House, which became a center for the larger social life of the University. One of the most notable of these affairs was a large afternoon reception given by the President and Mrs. Harper to Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on the occasion of their first visit to the University soon after their marriage.

Notwithstanding the great sums of money the University had received, the year 1895 found it in great need of financial relief. The annual deficit had become so great that for the year beginning July 1, 1895, the Founder contributed $175,000 to provide for it. He then seems to have concluded that the way to end deficits would be to add $5,000,000 to the funds. On October 30, 1895, therefore, he gave an unconditional pledge of $1,000,000 for endowment, and subscribed $2,000,000 more conditioned on the raising of an equal amount from others during the

The President's House

succeeding four years. This great pledge was conceived in so liberal a spirit that Mr. Rockefeller proposed to duplicate, dollar for dollar, whatever part of the sum proposed was secured by the University. It was inevitable that this proposal should fill the President with new encouragement. This encouragement was vastly increased when, only six weeks later, Miss Helen Culver, of Chicago, turned over to the University properties valued at a million dollars, for work in the field of the biological sciences.

Miss Culver's great gift came in the simplest way. The President had been asking for $100,000 for a biological laboratory. Miss Culver gave him an interview at her office, a very unpretentious one, out on the West Side. He went in, hoping for a hundred-thousand-dollar laboratory. He came out, treading on air, with the assurance of the million-dollar gift for his biological departments. He admitted to his family that he sometimes turned back from a door where he knew he must ask for money, to seek fresh courage for the interview. His relief at such interviews as that with Miss Culver was all the greater. With her great gift the President felt that the greatest campaign in the University's history was well on the way toward success. But he still had a long and trying struggle before him, as will appear.

In 1894 President Harper had received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Nebraska. In

the spring of 1895 he was elected President of the Chicago Baptist Ministers' Conference. In 1896 he was appointed a member of the Board of Education of Chicago and served the public schools for two years with great usefulness. In the same year he was made chairman of the Committee on Education of the Chicago Civic Federation.

In 1895 a vicious attack was made on the University. It was, in fact, an extraordinary proof of its unparalleled success. Had the University not succeeded in such a conspicuous way, the incident that gave rise to the attack would have been unnoticed. An instructor whose appointment had expired was not reappointed, and the press represented that his retirement was occasioned by his teaching of views that were not acceptable to capitalists who had contributed to the funds. The charge was repeated in papers all over the land and every effort made to awaken prejudice against the institution. It was President Harper's rule to endure personal attacks in silence. Personal injury he would not resent. When, however, the University was felt to be vitally misrepresented, he could not be silent. He took, therefore, the most public way to vindicate the institution and to make plain once for all its position on the freedom of teaching. In the Convocation statement of September 30, 1895, he spoke on the subject at length, saying among other things:

"No instructor has been or will be asked to separate himself from the University because his views on a particular question differ from those of another member of the same department, even though that member be the Head." He went on to say that there had "never been an occasion for condemning the utterances of any professor upon any subject, nor had any objection been made in any case to the teachings of a professor." He added that the University "could not make so strong a statement as this if its executive officers had any question as to the policy it should pursue, or if there had been any effort on the part of its benefactors to influence this policy." This statement came to be generally accepted as defining accurately the University's position on the freedom of teaching.

In July, 1896, the first anniversary celebration of the University was held—the Quinquennial. It was a great occasion. Haskell Oriental Museum was dedicated and the cornerstones of the four Hull Biological Laboratories were laid. But that which made it most interesting was the presence of the Founder, who then made his first visit to the University. He was given a great reception, and by his modest demeanor, affable manner, and evident enjoyment of the celebration won all hearts. In a huge tent pitched in the central quadrangle he spoke, saying in the course of his remarks:

"I believe in the work. It is the best investment I ever made. . . . . Where were ever gathered a better board of trustees, a better faculty? I am profoundly thankful that I have had anything to do with this affair." Few things ever encouraged President Harper more than this first visit of the Founder, whom he entertained in the President's House.

It may properly be said that this event marked the end of an era. The University had been created. The annual attendance of students, which had been 742 the first year, had increased so rapidly that in the fifth year it came to be 2,132. The number of buildings erected during these years was eighteen and their cost $1,640,000. The faculty had increased from 120 to 180, not including lecturers in University Extension. The gifts received had exceeded $9,000,000, the annual expenditures had reached $692,000, and the total assets had come to be $8,000,000. The University was recognized as one of the leading educational institutions of the country. Before its founding Dr. Harper, then a professor in Yale, had written to Mr. Rockefeller: "It is safe to make the prediction that in ten years such a University would have more students, if rightly conducted, than Yale or Harvard has to-day." At the time this letter was written, 1887, Harvard had 1,688 students in all its departments, and Yale had 1,245. This prophecy, had it been made public at the time, would have been regarded as the

wild dream of an enthusiast. Yale and Harvard had reached their great attendance only after two centuries or more of history. And now, after only five years, the University of Chicago enrolled 444 more students than were enrolled in Harvard in 1886–87, when the prophecy had been made. It had not only been created, but had been built to endure through the ages.

V

THE LATER UNIVERSITY PERIOD

PRESIDENT HARPER sustained relations of the greatest sympathy and cordiality with the members of his faculties. Many of them were older than he was, but such was the maturity of his mind that he entered fully into their feelings and worked with them on terms of perfect understanding. In times of serious illness or bereavement in the faculty circle he made it his business to call and offer not only his sympathy but his counsel and help. The genuineness of feeling and the wisdom and energy which he brought to these times of personal anxiety and trouble bound his associates to him by the strongest ties. He marked the work of the younger men with the most solicitous interest and attached them to him by every sort of friendly encouragement.

A graduate student who had been appointed to an assistantship without meeting the President was one day summoned to his presence. Full of apprehension as to what the President might have to say to him, he presented himself on the appointed day at the office, and waited his turn to be admitted to the

President's presence. The President greeted him cordially, but increased his alarm by telling him that he had been hearing about him from the deans.

"I asked you to come in," he went on, "because I wanted to tell you myself that I have been hearing very good things about you, and that I appreciate it when young men make good. It is a very fine thing for a young man to come into a great institution like this, among older men with great reputations, and make good from the very beginning. I want you to go right on doing the very best you can."

The young assistant had no words to express his relief and gratitude, and left the office immensely encouraged. He rose to distinction in his science, and has always treasured the memory of that interview as one of the great hours of his life.

The incident was typical. It illustrates President Harper's attitude toward young instructors; indeed, toward all his associates. He had chosen them for their proficiency or promise not only as teachers but as investigators, and in his Convocation statements he urged upon them the duty of creative research. "The University," he said, "will be patient; it will be very patient. But it expects every man to produce." This high ideal of productive investigation he cherished and realized himself, and constantly in public and private impressed upon his colleagues.

He was quick to observe and encourage any signs

of investigative promise among his students. One of them in a paper on the prophet Amos incidentally introduced a theory of his own. It was not emphasized but it caught the President's attention. "Where did you get that, Mr. Smith?" he asked. "That is my own, sir," was the answer. "Very good," said the President, making a rapid note of the suggestion. Mr. Smith later became his principal assistant in the preparation of his commentaries, and eventually his successor as Old Testament professor.

One day a member of the teaching staff went into the President's office to complain to him about another member. The President, after hearing his complaint, gently suggested to him that, while the things complained of might be true, it was their duty to look for the good points in their colleagues and make use of them, rather than point out the defects. The accuser, who came into the office furious, went out greatly softened and with a new idea in his mind. This spirit of consideration and good will contributed greatly to the harmony and unity of the faculties. In the very rare cases of real moral dereliction, however, he could be immovable in meting out justice to the offender—but justice always tempered with mercy. I recall one case in which he took me with him as a witness of the interview. He told the guilty man the case against him, for which there was no defense, and gently but firmly required his immediate resigna-

tion and arranged for his quiet departure with the least financial loss possible and without injurious publicity. It was all done in a single interview, with perfect kindness but with inexorable firmness. I never admired him more.

President Harper felt a deep interest in the play of his students as well as in their studies. A striking illustration of this is recorded by Mr. Stagg in his recent book, *Touchdown*.

"One of the most effective intermission appeals I ever heard was made by President Harper between the halves of the Wisconsin game that season [1895]. We were trailing, 0–12, at the end of the first half. Dr. Harper appeared in the dressing-rooms while I was talking to the team. 'Boys, Mr. Rockefeller has just announced a gift of $3,000,000 to the University,' he said. 'He believes the University is to be great. The way you played in the first half leads me to wonder whether we really have the spirit of greatness in ambition. I wish you would make up your minds to win this game and show that we do have it.' We won, 22–12." Mr. Stagg also tells the following story of the Michigan game on Thanksgiving Day, 1905. The President was too ill to attend the game, but had insisted that his family should go, and Miss Elizabeth Wallace remained with him to report to him the progress of the game. When the first half ended, 0–0, he was greatly excited, and he said to her,

"You just run as hard as you can all the way and tell Mr. Stagg and the team for me that they must win this game." She hurried to the field with her message. And Chicago won by a safety, 2–0.

He had never learned to play himself, but there were a few men with whom he may be said to have played. One of these was Mr. A. C. Bartlett, to whom he was so much attached that he seriously proposed at one time to build a summer home near his, at Asheville, North Carolina. The President was once, in 1895, Mr. Bartlett's guest there. Mr. Bartlett and his son, Frederic, took him on a horseback trip through the Blue Hills. The President had not been on a horse for twenty years, and the first day the party rode forty miles. This unaccustomed and trying exercise was too much for him, and when the end of the journey was reached he was so completely used up that it took four men to lift him from the horse and stretch him groaning on a cot. Mr. Bartlett and his son went several miles and obtained a jar of goose grease and spent most of the night rubbing the patient with it. Mr. Bartlett said in the morning that unless the Doctor had been well greased he would never have slipped back into life.

President Harper now had a very large circle of friends, but his great responsibilities left him little time for purely social life. His trustees and his professors were his sincere friends and some of them were

President Harper
From the portrait by
Gari Melchers

very close to him indeed. He seemed to keep all the members of the faculty in mind and lost no opportunity of being of service to them. When Professor Burton was incapacitated by illness in 1902 and 1903, the President assigned him the task of visiting other institutions to examine and report upon their library buildings, putting him at the head of the Library Commission. But considerate and unassertive though he always was, with most of his friends he was still necessarily the President. There were a few very intimate ones—they might almost be called his cronies—with whom he could unbend and be entirely at his ease. Such men were Mr. Herman H. Kohlsaat, the editor of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Major Henry A. Rust, the University Comptroller, Rev. Wallace Buttrick, afterward chairman of the General Education Board, Professor George S. Goodspeed, and Dean Eri B. Hulbert of the Divinity School. Mr. Charles R. Crane was also very close to him, as was Mr. Bartlett. With a group of these friends the President would occasionally enjoy a quiet dinner at some favorite down-town restaurant, and then go to some play, for which Mr. Kohlsaat had been warned to secure the tickets.

He found a great deal of enjoyment, too, in his home life, and found time not only to guide the education of his children but to amuse them as well. His birthday was annually celebrated with much enthusi-

asm, and one year, 1904, being with the family in Director Frost's house at Williams Bay, he announced that he would himself arrange the dinner, in secret conference with the cook. The expectancy of the young people was heightened by the arrival of a barrel of groceries from Jevne's, presumably for the occasion. When the hour arrived, the first course turned out to be corn meal mush and milk, served in soup plates; all the other courses were corn meal mush, which came on successively as fish, roast, salad, and dessert—in the last case enriched with cream. The mischief-loving spirit of his boyhood had not deserted him.

The years went on, and the large plans on which the University had been organized were working out their inevitable results. The current expenditures increased and the annual deficit grew greater and greater. When in December, 1896, a budget was submitted to Mr. Rockefeller, showing that a contribution of $200,000 for the year beginning July 1, 1897, must be asked from him, it was not at once approved, but taken under advisement. A few weeks later two financial officers of the University were asked to visit New York for a conference. These representatives defended and justified the policy pursued, saying in part:

"We have been laying the foundations of a very great enterprise. . . . . The view of Dr. Harper, who

had in his mind the ideal of a University, prevailed. The result has been that we have an institution which, in five years, has taken a position beside the great universities of the country which have existed from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty years. Owing largely to the liberality of Mr. Rockefeller, the University, in this short time, has accumulated large funds. These great contributions, combined with Dr. Harper's enlightened views of what a university ought to be, have made the wonderful success that has given the University a position of eminence equal to that of our greatest institutions." Two long interviews were had, continuing for many hours, Mr. Gates urging that any success which did not avoid debts and annual deficits was a false success which was sure to end in disaster. "Mr. Rockefeller," he said "rejoicing in all that has been achieved, recognizes and extols the great qualities of leadership, enthusiasm and organizing ability in Dr. Harper, without which the present development of the University would have been impossible. He looks to the trustees . . . . not to chill this ardor, or discourage it, but to guide it into channels of solid and permanent prosperity."

Whether this incident chilled or discouraged President Harper's ardor, I do not know. But two months later, at the Convocation of April 1, 1897, he made an earnest, almost impassioned, plea for a Depart-

ment of Medicine. "What," he asked, "is the greatest single piece of work which still remains to be done for the cause of education in the city of Chicago and in connection with the University? . . . . A School of Medicine . . . . which shall occupy a place beside the two or three such institutions that already exist in our country, one whose aim it shall be to push forward the boundaries of medical science, one in which honor and distinction will be found for those only who make contributions to the cause of medical science, one from which announcements may be sent from time to time so potent in their meaning as to stir the whole civilized world. . . . . I plead, men and women of Chicago, for a School of Medicine which shall be the equal of any that to-day exists, for an institution which will draw from all parts of the world men and women who shall find incentive and opportunity for the mitigation of human suffering, for the amelioration of human life." This urgent appeal was accompanied by the drawing together of the University and Rush Medical College and was followed in 1898 by the affiliation of Rush. Thirty years were to pass before the great dream was realized, but it was the dream that led to the reality.

In 1897 the College of Commerce and Politics, which later developed into the School of Commerce and Administration, was organized, opening in the Summer Quarter. In the following year the down-

town department, now known as University College, was opened. Urgent representations were made in the Convocation statements of the need of an increased number of free scholarships and fellowships. In the statement of December, 1897, the President said:

"The University needs to-day $4,000,000 more than it actually possesses in order to do the work which has been undertaken. . . . . It has seemed wise to take no step looking to the curtailment of the work. . . . . It is true, however, that we must look forward to a time when the endowment fund of the University shall be large enough to cover [the annual deficit of $200,000]. Until that time has come, we may not for a moment contemplate any additional expenditures, nor need we contemplate such additional expenses, inasmuch as the University is now organized upon a basis which permits it to do, in the fields already occupied, a work the character of which justifies the name of University. We must now deny ourselves new buildings, unless such buildings increase the annual income: for otherwise the buildings become a source of additional expense. This open statement is made to the members of the faculties of the University in order that they may co-operate with the Trustees in the policy of careful and economic management." In this same Convocation statement he announced the formal affiliation of Rush Medical College.

I do not need to point out that here was constant enlargement of the work undertaken, together with a frank acknowledgment of the need of retrenchment. These two contradictory policies found their reconciliation in President Harper's personality. He was possessed with his conception of the Great University. He saw the demand for it and the opportunity for developing it in Chicago presented on every hand, calling him irresistibly to go forward. At the same time he felt himself bound by the inexorable necessity of "careful and economic management." He tried to be careful. But he was a scholar instead of a business man, and was controlled by a great ideal. His strivings for economy were abortive, while his policy of enlargement, which he was persuaded could be carried on without cost, although it added continually to the growth, usefulness, and reputation of the University, was found to increase its financial burdens. Yet it must never be forgotten that it was this policy, this ideal, this great conception, which made the University what it came to be.

The winter and summer of 1897 brought President Harper two attacks of illness, each one keeping him in bed for some weeks. His friends were alarmed and wrote him letters entreating him to work less and rest more, and inviting him to come and rest with them. Dr. Wallace Buttrick closed such a letter by saying, "You have already done more for your gen-

eration than any ten men; do be lazy and save yourself." Mrs. Rockefeller sent him a cordial invitation to visit them at Forest Hill and rest. He was sending his daughter, Davida, to Paris for study, and finally, quite suddenly, decided to accompany her. She was to sail on the "Manitoba" and he went on board with her. He had given her no intimation of his purpose to sail with her and much enjoyed her perturbation as the ship sailed and he delayed getting off. He spent a short time in Paris where, with Professor George S. Goodspeed, he attended the Oriental Congress. They had much to discuss together, being associated in the editorship of the *Biblical World* and just then engaged in planning a book in which President Harper had become interested.

President Harper gave to his editorial work the same vigor and originality that marked him as a teacher, scholar, and executive. Dean Shailer Mathews afterward said of this aspect of his work: "In the long perspective of his life Dr. Harper's editorial work does not bulk as large as his work as a teacher and a creator of an institution and of policy; but any one of us who knew him in his editorial capacity will readily admit that he had the making in him of one of the world's great editors." Dean Mathews speaks of the great assistance rendered him in the editorship of the *Biblical World* by Mr. Goodspeed, saying that "he was so thoroughly in

sympathy with President Harper as never to miss the point of his chief's policy." An incident related by Mrs. Goodspeed illustrates at what cost to both men this unity was purchased. The two editors were one night very late at the President's house in consultation. Finally, as one o'clock drew near, Mrs. Goodspeed saw them coming down the street together, and retired with her mind at rest. But one o'clock passed and her husband did not come in. In the same way, two and three o'clock came and went, and it was not till four o'clock that the anxiously awaited husband appeared. A new point had come up as the two men walked the streets together, and they returned to the President's house to thresh it out, and continued their discussion till four o'clock in the morning. This was the way he worked, without the slightest regard to day or night.

President Harper returned after a brief stay in Paris, taking "La Gascogne" for the trip. He was a poor sailor, suffering from seasickness and spending his time in bed. On the voyage over on the "Manitoba," which was a slow boat, at the end of a week in bed, feeling the need of a book, he went, unshaven and looking somewhat disreputable, to the library and was stopped by a steward, who told him that only first-class passengers were allowed there! It gave him great pleasure to regale his friends with this joke on himself.

In October, after his return, he accepted from the International Society a place on the committee appointed to name for the Society the World's Great Books, which it proposed to publish. The other members of the committee were the Honorable Thomas B. Reed; President Gilman of Johns Hopkins; A. R. Spafford, Librarian of Congress; and Rossiter Johnson. President Harper was also to superintend the preparation and editing of the eight or ten volumes of oriental literature which were to be included in the Library.

Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus was one of the President's most cherished friends. During a serious illness of Dr. Gunsaulus, in December, 1897, he wrote to President Harper: "You can never know how blessed has been the ministration of your friendship in these long and weary months. Like a sunburst midst the uncertain clouds now and then, a brief letter full of your own characteristic hopefulness has left its lane of light across my path. I thank you, beloved friend. . . . ." It was thus these two great spirits came together.

The great kindliness and sympathy of President Harper are in danger of being lost sight of by those who know only of his amazing achievements in education, and his power to bring things to pass. He was in fact a man full of human feeling. When his close friend Dr. Justin A. Smith, the veteran editor of the

Standard, died, in 1895, the President was asked to speak at the funeral, but when he sat down with his stenographer to dictate what he wished to say, he was so moved that he could not speak, and he wrote his address in his own hand. In the University circle, indeed in any time of deep personal loss, it was to him that everyone first looked, and it was generally he who first offered sympathy and help.

The letters of these years addressed to him by men in many walks of life demand a moment's attention. Mr. John Brisben Walker, editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, wrote frequently asking for articles, and now and then, after long waiting, getting one. At the beginning of 1898 Mr. Warren G. Harding, twenty-two years later President of the United States, wrote from the editorial office of the *Marion Star:* "Some few years ago I read in the *Chicago Tribune* extracts of your sermons on the Bible. . . . . Kindly advise me where I can get them." In the spring of that year came a letter telling him of his election as a non-resident member of the Century Club of New York. On May 12, Bishop Vincent, answering an invitation to be University lecturer in India, said: "I enjoyed my visit with you as I always do. You are a great source of magnetism and inspiration to thousands of men. In the realm of education you are a Napoleon."

For such inspiration and direction men from all

over the country came to President Harper. His time was so full and so carefully organized that he could give very little of it to interviews. But during these occasional office-hours his ante-room would be crowded, like that of a great specialist, with people from far and near who had asked for brief interviews. They rightly felt that his counsel upon their personal problems would be of great value, and he cheerfully heard them and focused upon their situations his wisdom, experience, and vision. On these occasions he showed himself a great expert in the practice of what has since been called human engineering.

President Harper was a member of the Hyde Park Baptist Church. No one was more faithful and zealous. He became the prime mover in the plans of the church for the commodious building it erected in 1896–1906. Absorbed as he was in the overwhelming task of the organization, administration, and development of the University, in 1897 he took upon himself the added burden of superintending the Sunday school of the church. In 1898, assisted by Professor Burton, he worked out and put into operation a scientifically arranged and systematized course of study. For eight years, from 1897 to 1905, he acted as superintendent, continuing his service as long as his strength permitted, and long after almost anyone else, particularly if he were the President of a great university, would have given it up.

In 1898 he surrendered his position on the Chicago Board of Education. The Board thereupon took the unusual course of adopting unanimously the following minute and ordering an engrossed copy of its action to be sent to him:

"Two years ago Dr. William R. Harper, the worthy President of a large and honored University, entered the membership of the Board of Education of the city of Chicago. His great knowledge of the educational systems of all countries, his experience in the work of training along the lines of good citizenship, his broad ideals in every branch of educational work, and his rare executive ability were well known to us all and gave promise of a valuable counsellor and co-worker.

"After his two years of untiring and unselfish service we can gladly attest the fulfilment of our hopes and express our regret that Dr. Harper retires from our midst.

"This Board cordially places on record its high recognition of the work that he has done and congratulates the people of the city of Chicago in having had the service of such an educator. Good judgment, deep insight, a thorough knowledge of affairs, both as business man and educator, and an honest desire for the best welfare of our school children have characterized his actions at all times. The impress of his labor will be lasting. Our relations with him will

always be pleasantly held in remembrance. The public has been fortunate in his membership and the patrons of our schools, teachers and children have had in him a friend."

The ground for this very flattering resolution was the service President Harper had rendered the public school system as chairman of the Educational Commission of the city. The Chicago schools had been controlled by politicians for a quarter of a century, when Mayor Carter H. Harrison in 1897 appointed this commission, with the President as its chairman, to see what could be done to correct the situation and take the schools out of politics. Mr. Angus Roy Shannon, for nearly twenty years attorney for the Board of Education (1900–1919), thus describes to me Dr. Harper's work upon it:

"He gave of his great ability and energy to the problem everything he had in him for the good of the public schools of Chicago. His industry and ability were such that soon the Commission became known, and always since has been known, as the 'Harper Commission.' It worked for more than a year, searched in every field of education, in every locality in the United States, sought and secured the cooperation of every known educator of repute, whether in private or public education fields, university, collegiate, secondary, grammar and elementary school, and made a report which stood then and

stands now, as the background and basis of a truly intelligent, non-political, modernly efficient public school system. That report was heralded then, and ever since then has been acknowledged as being the finest piece of public educational propaganda which has occurred in this state. It was anathema to the politicians in and out of the system. They for a time were successful in preventing its recommendations being enacted into law, but ever after the Report was a beacon light to those who had the best interests of the Chicago public school system at heart. In 1917 came the fruition of William Rainey Harper's work. The School Law then enacted was modeled upon the report of his Commission. It is recognized universally as the most modern and efficient system—as a law—that exists, but to William Rainey Harper belongs the greatest credit, by reason of his devoted unselfish pioneer work."

The Spanish War came to an end in the Summer of 1898, and a great peace celebration was organized in Chicago in October. President Harper was actively concerned in arranging the celebration, which President McKinley attended in person. At the University a special Convocation was held in his honor, and on October 17, in Kent Theater, President Harper conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws—the first honorary degree conferred by the University.

In the spring of 1899 President Harper accepted an invitation to give the Charter Day address at the University of California, on March 23, at Berkeley. This was the signal for invitations to visit and speak at many places on the Coast. Such invitations as he could he accepted. The Charter Day address was on "The University and Democracy." He was also the guest of Dr. Norman Bridge at Pasadena and Los Angeles, visited Pomona College, and spoke at these places.

Returning home and speaking at the April Convocation he made an earnest appeal for provision for Schools of Law and Medicine, for buildings for physical culture and athletics, the library, student assemblies, and Convocations. "We are sometimes told," he said, "that since we have gone along so well these seven years without gymnasium, library, a proper provision for the student life, and assembly hall, we should be patient and calm. In time all these and more will come. But this thought no longer furnishes us the consolation it once furnished. Patience sometimes ceases to be a virtue. In the first years officers and students and visitors clearly understood that we could not have everything at once. But now the years are passing. Some of us who ambitiously claimed to be young men when the University opened its doors must now acknowledge that old age is creeping rapidly on. We cannot afford to wait for time."

He was then forty-three years of age. I well remember the smile of amusement on many faces when he said, "Old age is creeping rapidly on. We cannot afford to wait . . . ."—knowing as we did how young the vigorous man who stood before us was. But there was nothing amusing in it to him. He was in dead earnest. The needs were so great and urgent, the possibilities so inviting, his ambition to make the University what he saw it ought to be and could be so overpowering, that he could not wait for what seemed to him the slow developments of time. A man was never moved by a more laudable, a nobler ambition, and it seemed an unspeakable pity that, by lack of funds, he was denied the opportunity of doing what to his organizing ability was so easy of accomplishment. But this high ideal of the first President accomplished one great purpose which was also in his mind. It established the tradition of the Great University, and that had its part in the subsequent history of the University of Chicago.

President Harper saw that education must be taken much more seriously and provided for much more amply than had been realized. Early in the University's history he was asked what sum of money he thought would be enough to establish it. He replied, "When the University has fifty million dollars, the first step will have been taken." The remark sounded

then like an absurdity, but everyone will recognize it now as the sober truth.

As early as the autumn of 1895 President Harper began to try to persuade Theodore Roosevelt, then president of the Board of Police Commisioners of New York City, to come to the University as Convocation orator. He was not at first successful, but in 1899, as the result of persistent efforts on President Harper's part, Mr. Roosevelt, who had then become governor of New York, came to the University and on the morning of April 10, spoke on the characteristic topic "Character and Culture."

Dr. Harper's eldest son, Samuel N. Harper, was seventeen in 1899. Dr. Harper did not allow his absorbing duties to interfere with his companionable relations with his children, which sometimes became playful, as when in this summer he made the following contract with his son, on July 26:

"I hereby agree to pay to Samuel N. Harper the sum of five dollars ($5.00) on condition that he sees that I am out of bed every morning for 14 consecutive mornings at 6:15. I also agree as my part of the contract to be in my bed at 59th and Lexington, Chicago, Ill., on said mornings at the above mentioned time. But my absence from home and the said Samuel N. Harper's consequent inability to reach me shall not be allowed in any way or manner to invalidate or modify this contract or any of its terms." I re-

gret to say that the contract did not prove to be as profitable to the son as it ought to have been. He did his duty as faithfully as possible short of the use of violence. But his father so often resorted to argument to delay his rising that the hour indicated passed before he could be got out of bed, and he thereupon claimed that the pay for that morning was forfeited. The President got great amusement out of this arrangement. Indeed, he probably got more out of the contract than his son did.

The President was as a matter of fact an early riser. He required less sleep than most men; the legend about the University was that four or five hours sufficed him. He was often up and dictating to his stenographer at 5 in the morning. He enjoyed an hour's bicycling along the Midway and through Jackson Park, before breakfast, and often persuaded a few faculty people to join him in this exercise. His ability to snatch a few minutes of refreshing sleep in a cab or at his desk was extraordinary; he seemed to do it at will. He awoke in four or five minutes rested and alert. He was very systematic in the use of his time, making weekly programs covering the use of every hour, and revising his program every few weeks to suit new situations and keep him from getting into ruts.

At the Convocation of April 2, 1900, President Harper was able to announce the final success of the

effort to secure the $2,000,000 required by the great subscription of $3,000,000 made by Mr. Rockefeller more than four years earlier, in 1895. Such had been the expansion of the work of the University, however, the growth in the attendance of students, and the consequent increase in the annual expenses that little relief resulted from this enlargement of resources by the total of $5,000,000. It was the knowledge of this fact that led the President in announcing the completion of the fund to speak of it with extreme moderation, expressing not the slightest elation.

Soon after this Convocation he took one of his rare vacations abroad. His friend, Mr. Charles R. Crane, who was much interested in Russia, together with Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson and Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Hutchinson, accompanied him on a trip the main objective of which was that country. They visited the Paris Exposition while abroad but spent most of their time in Russia. They were received by the Tsar Nicholas, visited Count Tolstoi, and met respresentatives of all groups and tendencies. President Harper became greatly interested in the country and its people. He was so much impressed by the greatness of the empire and the possibilities of its future that he encouraged his eldest son to specialize in its language and history. Mr. Crane sympathized with him so strongly in this that he provided the means for introducing Russian into the Univer-

sity curriculum and opening the way for Mr. Samuel N. Harper to enter on the studies which he has since pursued. This spring vacation of 1900 thus had important results. The President returned from it in time to preside at the Convocation on June 19. The administration of the University had been conducted during his absence by Dr. H. P. Judson, who was at that time Dean of the Faculties.

A few weeks after his return, he sent his family abroad for health and study. Early in September he bade them all goodbye in New York as they sailed for Paris, while he returned to spend many months alone. His loneliness was relieved by visits from Dr. Paul, Mrs. Harper's father, and from his own father and mother, to add to whose comfort in their declining years he and his brothers had some months earlier begun to provide a monthly contribution. He was a faithful correspondent, writing to each of his children as only an affectionate parent can write. He wrote to each as their age and circumstances suggested. For example, he said to his daughter, Davida: "I have never known anybody to become so demoralized in the cooking business as is the case with the cook. She has lost the power of cooking anything except tomatoes. I wish you could see the dinners I have had. I get along very well for breakfast and luncheon, eating only toast and tea for breakfast; and I have got her to make sandwiches, which, with an

apple, make up the luncheon. But it is somewhat disappointing when it comes to dinner time. I am hoping that Adelaide, when she comes Friday, will prove more successful." She did. She was in every way competent. To his oldest son he told much serious news, and said: "Everybody is inquiring concerning all of you and it seems to me almost all my time is taken up in telling about you. I am always asked the question whether I am very lonesome, and I always answer, 'Not at all; why should I be?' " To his second son, Paul, he wrote in a jocose strain, and did not forget the youngest, Donald, who was four years old.

On November 7, 1900, McKinley and Roosevelt having just been elected, he wired Colonel Roosevelt, for whom he had a warm friendship and a great admiration, his personal congratulations, adding "I have never been so happy politically," and received four days later the following answer:

"Oyster Bay, N.Y., Nov. 9, 1900.

"My Dear President Harper:

"Your telegram gave me the greatest pleasure. I thank you for it and appreciate it. With warm regards,

"Faithfully yours,

"Theodore Roosevelt."

In 1901 the Decennial of the University was celebrated. President Harper had a peculiar genius for arranging programs and conducting ceremonials. This celebration, occurring in June, continued through several days. Educational conferences were held, and there were many lectures, sermons, and addresses. The occasion was made memorable by the second visit of the Founder, Mr. Rockefeller, who had been induced by the urgency of the President to be present. The cornerstones of eight new buildings were laid. The Convocation was held in a great tent in the middle of the central quadrangle, and the celebration was a memorable event in the history of the University and in the President's life. It was particularly memorable from his standpoint for the carrying out of a plan very dear to him—the issuance from the University Press of the Decennial Publications. He felt that there could be no way of celebrating a university anniversary more appropriate than the production of books by its scholars and their publication. He proposed at the outset to publish three volumes, but the offerings of the University's scholars were so abundant and they seemed to the President so worthy of publication that in the end the three volumes increased to ten quarto volumes and eighteen octavos. The Decennial Publications contained the contributions of eighty-one contributors. The President took the greatest satisfaction in

Mr. Rockefeller and President Harper
at the Decennial Celebration

them and said of them, "It is safe to say that no series of scientific publications so comprehensive in its scope and of so great magnitude has ever been issued at any one time by any learned society or institution, or by private enterprise." It was not expected that the Decennial Publications would return a financial profit. But it can be said that they continued to be sold for many years and that much more than half the $50,000 expended has returned to the treasury.

Another thing that distinguished the Decennial Celebration was the opening of the School of Education. After negotiations, continuing through many months, between President Harper and Mrs. Emmons Blaine and the Trustees of the Chicago Institute, a training school for teachers established by Mrs. Blaine, who was a daughter of Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, the Institute was transferred to the University. About $1,000,000 in property and funds thus came into its hands. Eventually the University Elementary School, the South Side Academy, and the Chicago Manual Training School, which had been established fourteen years before by the Commercial Club, were united with the Chicago Institute to form the School of Education. There was thus gathered within it a complete school system—an elementary school, a high school, a college, and a graduate department. The negotiations and consultations which led to the establishment and organization of the

School of Education with Professor John Dewey at its head, constitute one of the great triumphs of President Harper's administration.

We have seen that one of the things he had determined on from the beginning was the ultimate establishment of a great School of Medicine in connection with the University. Another step was taken in that direction during this same year. Following the affiliation which had been effected with Rush Medical College in 1898, the University took over in 1901 the two lower classes in medicine, the arrangement going into effect at the opening of the Autumn Quarter.

During all this time President Harper was busy with many things. He was trying to reflect more fully than ever before the views and wishes of the Founder. While I was absent on my vacation in the north woods in August, 1901, he wrote me fully of what was going on. One letter written August 24 tells of a visit he and Mr. Ryerson, president of the Board of Trustees, made to Mr. Rockefeller in Cleveland, in which they settled ten important matters which he mentioned in detail, going on to say: "Mr. Ryerson was greatly pleased with the visit and we had an excellent time." Referring to the year-long absence of his family abroad, he had written the week before, August 16: "The family returned yesterday in good condition. Uel [his oldest son] is still on the other side. He passed successfully his examinations for the

baccalaureate." The President once more had a home, with his family about him, and could not accept our invitation to join us in the north woods; and, indeed, he loved the haunts of men more than the solitudes of the wilderness. He had, in fact, little use for vacations. In an official action, about the beginning of 1900, the Trustees said:

"President Harper has, since the organization of the University, so closely attended to his duties as President and Head Professor, as to devote to the interests of the University a great portion of the time allotted him for vacation and has thereby accumulated a large vacation credit and he does not desire to avail himself of any vacation." This indifference to vacations was entirely characteristic of him. He had laid the foundations of the University and now, engaged in building the superstructure, he was too busy to rest. Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Ryerson, and Mr. Bartlett did occasionally persuade him to spend a few days at the Pelee fishing club in Lake Erie, but they never taught him to rest. Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat one season put his summer home at Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, at his disposal, and it was planned that he should spend week-ends there with his family, but he seldom found it possible to join them. Another summer, Mr. Wallace Heckman, the Business Manager of the University, placed his summer home at Oregon, Illinois, in the hands of the family, with a

slightly better result. There were also week-end trips to the homes of friends at Lake Geneva, and invitations to visit Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller at Cleveland were accepted, but all these visits were very brief and could not be called vacations. The Trustees recognized his need of rest and at the annual meeting near the end of June, 1901, they unanimously voted that "the Board request President Harper to make such arrangements as will enable him to take a much needed vacation at the earliest moment possible." He was finally induced to take the Winter Quarter of 1902, from January to March or April, as a vacation. He went with his family to Morgan Park and employed those months in writing on the Minor Prophets, the results of these labors appearing in a number of books during the four following years. This was his idea of a vacation.

But three months before this he had attended the Yale bi-centennial celebration, where he had been honored with the degree of LL.D. and had made an address. In the middle of his so-called vacation he had gone to New York City for an important conference with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Mr. Gates. After two days of consultation he went on to Boston and from there to Washington. He wrote to Mr. Ryerson, who was then abroad:

"Although so lately returned from the East, I go back again this week, to New York for one day and

to Baltimore for two days. The Johns Hopkins University celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. They have done me the honor to ask me to receive the degree of LL.D., and I have also been asked to make one of the addresses on the occasion of the inauguration of President Remsen. . . . . We are all getting ready for the meeting of the Association of American Universities which comes next week and for the visit of Prince Henry which comes the week after. We are expecting Prince Henry to visit the University." This was Prince Henry of Prussia, whose visit to the University was greatly enjoyed. The President added: "My experiment of living in Morgan Park has worked out very satisfactorily . . . . and I am enjoying it very much indeed."

To Professor Abbott, who was spending the year teaching in the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, he wrote: "I am at Morgan Park, working in a very leisurely and delightful way during five days of the week. Fridays and Saturdays I spend at the University. I am in residence, but absent at Morgan Park during five days. Miss Cobb is with me, also my assistant, J. M. P. Smith. I am hoping to get the Commentary through these next months." Such were his vacations.

In March of this year (1901) President McKinley appointed President Harper a member of the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Observatory—

an appointment which brought him many letters from persons interested in the question then under discussion, as to whether the Observatory should have at its head a line officer of the navy, or a professor of astronomy. Among these was one from Vice-President Roosevelt and another from the distinguished astronomer Professor George E. Hale.

In that same month, he made an address at Tulane University, of which President Alderman wrote to him, "It was like a breath of tonic air to me." Three months later that university conferred on him the degree of LL.D. In the autumn of 1901 he conducted, as so often during his administration, a University Bible class at 8:30 Sunday mornings. On December 3 of that year he became a Mason, joining the Ashlar Lodge, in Chicago.

He was for many years very much interested in the Alliance Française, and in 1901 received from the government of France the decoration of the Legion of Honor in recognition of this interest. He served as head of the Alliance and was greatly pleased with the recognition his services received.

At the beginning of 1902 he received an urgent invitation to accept the directorship of the International Congresses of the St. Louis World's Fair which was held two and a half years later. He was assured that he could arrange his work so that it would not interfere with his duties in Chicago. The salary was

to be $8,000 a year, with most liberal allowances for assistants, traveling expenses, and everything else. For the first time in his life he found that he was no longer the iron man he had always believed himself to be. His physician was that eminent diagnostician, Dr. Frank Billings, and he now had the wisdom to consult his medical adviser, who was also his warm friend. He was greatly attracted by the work proposed, but he was compelled to write to President Francis, from whom the invitation had come, that he found it necessary to decline the work, saying: "I am told by my physician that it would be done at great risk. Indeed, I am absolutely forbidden to undertake anything new, and am urged to give up a good deal of what I have already undertaken." This letter was written during the Morgan Park vacation of which I have spoken. He ought to have called off all extra engagements. But he could not. A little later he was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors at West Point by President Roosevelt and performed the service in the summer of the same year. I do not know just how or when he and Mr. Roosevelt came together. They were already in correspondence when Mr. Roosevelt was Police Commissioner of New York City, in 1895–97, and they had contracted a warm friendship which continued through President Harper's life. He was more than once invited to visit Mr. Roosevelt at Oyster Bay

and improved every opportunity to bring him to the University for visits and addresses. They both led "the strenuous life" and were, perhaps, on that account mutually attracted.

President Harper, while still at Morgan Park on his vacation, sent an article to the *North American Review* on "The Trend of University and College Education in the United States," and in April, 1902, went to New York and made one of the addresses at the inauguration of Nicholas Murray Butler as president of Columbia. In the Summer Quarter, in addition to all his other absorbing duties, he taught two classes and conducted a seminar. The National Council of Education met in Minneapolis early in July. He made a comprehensive report on "The Educational Progress of the Year"—which, as he wrote to President Alderman of Tulane, cost him more than any single piece of work he tried to do that year—and was elected president of the Council.

He was deeply interested in helping his students in meeting their expenses, and wrote to a friend: "The greatest burden of a President's life is the fact that he is compelled to meet from week to week scores and scores of splendid boys and girls who have not the means to help them through college. I cannot urge too strongly on the friends of the University the desirability of establishing scholarships."

Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated as president of

Princeton University in the autumn of 1902, and President Harper went East to take part in the inaugural ceremonies. He was then, as he had been for a number of years, secretary of the Association of American Universities.

But all other activities were only incidents in this busy career. The great prepossession of his life was the development of the University in accordance with his conception of what it ought to be. In his Convocation statements he had repeatedly lamented the fact that it had no School of Law, and the purpose to establish such a School was always in his mind. When he had waited ten years he felt that he could delay no longer. He had been seeking information and advice for a number of years. When he had fully decided on the plan of organization and had convinced his Trustees that it could be done with safety, they voted, on his recommendation, on January 21, 1902, "that Mr. Rockefeller be requested to consider the advisability of giving to the University the sum of $50,000 for the purchase of a law library, and if he shall consent, that the President be authorized to proceed to organize the University School of Law, to be open for instruction October 1, 1902." Mr. Rockefeller assented to the President's plans, the books were bought, the faculty was engaged, and the School opened on the date fixed, just ten years after the opening of the University. A high standard of ad-

mission was set, as President Harper said, "three years in advance of those of any other school west of New York" at that time. The number of students the first year was seventy-eight, and the attendance increased regularly. Professor Joseph H. Beale, of the Harvard Law School, came to Chicago for two years, 1902–4, to organize its work. Its establishment was one of the great satisfactions of the President's life. Later, when the cornerstone of the Law School building was about to be laid, he was able to persuade his old friend, Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, to come to the University, and on April 2, 1903, to receive the degree of LL.D., lay the cornerstone, and make a brief address.

It must be evident to every reader that the University was again, in 1903, developing rapidly. What with new combinations of schools, new departments, new buildings, the current expenses were increasing at an alarming rate. For the three years closing June 30, 1904, the annual deficit had increased from $225,000 to $261,000. These deficits Mr. Rockefeller had generously provided for. Meanwhile, in the three years ending on June 30, 1903, he had contributed $1,000,000 annually for endowment. President Harper saw, as did his Trustees, including Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Mr. Gates, that this could not continue.[1]

[1] Dr. Goodspeed's narrative had reached this point when he was stricken. In accordance with his request, the work has been completed by his sons.

In December, 1903, a conference was held in New York, attended by President Harper, Mr. Ryerson, Judge Baldwin, Mr. Wallace Heckman, the Business Manager of the University, and the New York Trustees, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Mr. Gates, which resulted in the preparation of a memorandum embodying the views of all the persons present. After reciting the situation it went on to say:

"It is the unanimous sense of this conference that until this deficit is wiped out by endowment or retrenchment, the University must rigidly decline to consider the enlargement of any department now existing, or the addition of any new departments of work which do at the time, or may in the future involve the University in additional expense, unless adequate funds are especially provided therefor. This policy the gentlemen here assembled commit themselves to carry out to the full extent of their ability. . . . . If we shall demonstrate our ability to conduct the institution within its income and thus place it on an assured and permanent financial foundation we shall have placed the institution in a position to invite the confidence of men of means both in Chicago and in the East, and be in a position to assure them, not only of the permanency of the institution, but that it can and will conduct its affairs without financial embarrassments and without financial crises, which may either threaten its usefulness or embarrass its friends."

This conference was the turning-point in the financial history of the University. The deficit ceased to grow, then began to decrease, but it was long before Mr. Rockefeller contributed again to the endowment. Mr. Rockefeller had given great sums for endowment so often that it was very difficult for President Harper or the Trustees and faculty not to expect a gift of a million dollars or more as the high point of the President's quarterly Convocation statement at least once each year. President Harper urged the needs of the University upon Mr. Gates, and he in turn did all he could with Mr. Rockefeller, but in vain; he was determined that its financial policy must be changed. In August, 1905, just after the closing of the books for the University fiscal year 1904–5, President Harper wrote to Mr. Gates: "You will be glad to know that we brought out the budget of the University, including the School of Education, with a surplus of $26. The Trustees contributed $9,800." The budget had at last been balanced. When in December of that year the committee carried the budget for the next year to New York and submitted it to the New York Trustees, and at the same time again explained the need of endowment, the atmosphere had changed. In January Mr. Rockefeller pledged the amount needed to cover the estimated budget deficit for 1906–7 and joined with it a gift for endowment of $1,100,000. But before the gift was reported President Harper was no more.

Meanwhile, Mr. Rockefeller exhibited his interest and confidence in the University's future by purchasing and turning over to it in 1904 several blocks of land on the north side of the Midway Plaisance and adjacent to the original campus, at a cost to him of over sixteen hundred thousand dollars, thus making possible the almost unlimited expansion which President Harper had shown was in store for the University whenever the necessary funds could be provided.

In 1903 President Harper led in the founding of the Religious Education Association. With his growing interest in popular Bible study, his Institute of Hebrew had broadened into the American Institute of Sacred Literature, with its advisory Council of Seventy. But in the spring and summer of 1902, Dean Mathews says, "He was constantly discussing whether there should not be a movement wider than the Council of Seventy could possibly become. In August, 1902, the Senate of the Council in Chicago considered informally the advisability of undertaking a general movement toward the improvement of religious instruction in the United States. At that time Dean Frank K. Sanders, of Yale, was president of the Council, and Dr. Harper was principal of the Institute. In consequence of this decision, as principal, he sent out hundreds of letters to various persons, getting their opinion as to the proposed step. On October 13, at a meeting of the Senate of

the Council of Seventy, the replies to these letters were reported, and there was such unanimity of opinion that the Senate proceeded to draft a call for a Convention." This was held in February, 1903. Professor George L. Robinson, of McCormick Theological Seminary, and Professors Willett, Votaw, and Mathews of the University of Chicago, actively assisted him in the arrangements for the meeting. Professor Theodore G. Soares thus describes the outcome: "Dr. Harper engaged the Auditorium for the first meeting and that great hall was crowded to hear men of the first rank discuss a subject which had hitherto been left to Sunday School enthusiasts. Before the conference closed the Religious Education Association had been organized. With characteristic wisdom Dr. Harper kept himself in the background."

At the beginning of March, 1903, Mr. A. C. Bartlett persuaded Dr. Harper to visit his ranch near Phoenix, Arizona. The plan was to spend the time riding over the desert, but the plans miscarried. Mr. Bartlett on March 6 wired Dean Judson: "President Harper arrived last evening, having been snow-bound in New Mexico for nearly three days. Is in good health notwithstanding."

In April we find him acting as chairman of the editorial committee of the Board of Directors of a newly organized and short-lived religious magazine, *Christendom*. That same month he went to Waco,

Texas, and delivered the principal address in connection with the dedication of the Carroll buildings of Baylor University. In June the Mother General of the Dominican Sisters at a Catholic convent college in Wisconsin asked free tuition for several teaching sisters who desired to do work at the University in the Summer Quarter, and was deeply grateful when he arranged for the desired remission of tuition.

The summer vacation of 1903 was devoted to a trip to Europe, originally intended doubtless as a period of rest. In a report made to the Trustees on his return he said that his five days in London were occupied almost exclusively with the affairs of the University, particularly in conferring with men whom he desired as instructors. Then followed a negotiation with representatives of the German government and the German universities regarding a plan of celebrating at the University the contributions of German scholarship to American education. He had learned in New York, on his way, that the University was to be the recipient of a gift for excavation in oriental countries. He therefore went to Jena and conferred with Professor Hilprecht, Assyrian Curator of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. From Jena he went by way of Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest, and Constantia, to Constantinople. A week was spent there in conference with Minister Leishman and Turkish officials. The presence of American war vessels at

the time may have been helpful. At any rate the *firman* was issued in due course and the fact published in the American papers. An amusing glimpse of Dr. Harper's reputation is revealed in an editorial item in the *Press*, of Portland, Maine, which said: "But it might have been known that the Sultan would have to give in if Dr. Harper got after him. Abdul is lucky if he escaped so easily. He might have been drawn in for a subscription of a million or two for the uses of the University."

On his way back from Constantinople he turned aside to make a last visit to Professor von Holst, who was then near his end at Freiburg. He says: "I spent an entire afternoon with him and received from him the strongest possible assurance of his continued interest in the work of the University, ... his love for the University and his belief in America and American institutions. . . . . He was not satisfied until I had spent a long period in recounting to him the things that had happened and our present situation."

In December President Harper and Mrs. Harper were the guests of President and Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House. In January and February, 1904, he acted as chairman of the committee of the Union League Club arranging for the annual celebration of Washington's Birthday. At the same time his correspondence reveals him as chairman of the executive committee of the Religious Education Association,

as chairman of an important committee of the Merchants' Club of Chicago, and as president of the Association of American Universities. During the year he was appointed an officer of the Legion of Honor, received the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle of the Second Class from Emperor William, and received honorary degrees from the University of Wisconsin and Toronto University. He was elected one of the forty members of the Chicago Orchestra Association, and was appointed chairman of the National Council of the Bureau of Education, to succeed President Nicholas Murray Butler.

On February 27, 1904, he wrote his son, Samuel, who was studying Russian in Europe that he was suffering from appendicitis and must have an operation. On the twenty-ninth he wrote his mother: "I am going into the operating room with a clear conscience and a readiness to accept whatever may come. I have no anxiety about the future." The operation was long and unusually complicated, and recovery was therefore slow. President Harper insisted on presiding at the Fiftieth Convocation on March 22, at which a number of distinguished German scholars received honorary degrees, and wrote his father on March 26: "A good many of my friends thought that my participation in the Convocation exercises would be a serious impediment to my recovery, but it has proved to be just the contrary." By June 22 he had so far recovered that he went East to deliver

a series of Commencement addresses. He spent the summer at Lake Geneva and from there wrote Dean Hulbert:

"I have had for the past thirty days the best time I can recall in thirty years absolutely without exception. It has consisted in uninterrupted opportunity to read and write. Dictation to Miss Cobb from 6:30 to 7:30, first sitting 8 to 12, golf from 12 to 1, luncheon from 1 to 1:30, dictation to Miss Cobb 1:30 to 2, second sitting 2 to 5, golf 5 to 6, dinner 6:30, third sitting 8 to 10. It has been a great month and I have turned out more work than I dreamed could be done in a month. I hope you are having half as good a time and I am expecting to continue the program indefinitely."

He spent most of his time at Lake Geneva until the middle of October. The marriage of his daughter, Davida, to Mr. Charles Scribner Eaton occurred on October 6, in Mandel Assembly Hall, and was followed by a reception at the President's House. After the festivities, in which the President took a leading part, he returned to Lake Geneva for a week's rest. On October 24 he wrote to his son Samuel: "The foliage was at its best. I have never seen anything so magnificent."

This summer of study and writing was very pleasant and very profitable in a literary way, but it did not produce the desired effect upon his health. His old vigor did not return.

At Williams Bay, 1904

VI

THE END

PRESIDENT HARPER was now forty-eight years old, in the prime of life, and at the height of his wonderful powers. He had made himself an extraordinary place in the city of Chicago and indeed in the country as a whole. His great educational experiment was a proved success, and long years of increasing usefulness and satisfaction seemed to lie before him, when suddenly from a clear sky came the word that was to mark the end of his earthly career.

One afternoon early in 1905 as Dr. Goodspeed and Major Rust were spending an hour together at the Quadrangle Club, then at University Avenue and Fifty-eighth Street, only a block from the President's House, President Harper called them to the house by telephone, saying that he had something he wished to tell them. They went over in the best of spirits, to hear what great new idea the President had had. They greeted him with some hilarity, but his first words banished their mirth. "I have asked you to come," he said, "to say to you that I have to-day received my death sentence from my physicians.

They have discovered that my trouble is internal cancer."

The effect of this announcement upon Dr. Harper's associates cannot be realized by those who did not know him. As the news spread through the University, it was like the quenching of the sun at noonday. We could not imagine what the world would be like without him, so dynamically had he pervaded everything.

The story of the heroism of those twelve months is well known. On February 3 he wrote to Mr. Gates:

"It seems that the physicians here have for some months suspected a situation of which I had not dreamed. Their suspicion has been based upon the microscopic examination of the appendix removed last March. It seems that this gave fairly clear evidence of cancerous growth. . . . . The operation will take place sometime within two weeks. . . . . I have often wondered how a man felt when notified that within fourteen or sixteen days he was to close up his account. I shall not have occasion to wonder much longer. It is as clearly a case of execution announced beforehand as it could possibly be, for in every other way I am as well and strong as ever." Four days later he wrote: "I have met my classes to-day as usual and have lectured to the freshmen. . . . . The whole situation seems to be a kind of dream, the motive for working being something very

different from anything I have yet experienced, but I find that I am very much better off working than doing nothing."

These letters Mr. Gates forwarded as received to Mr. Rockefeller, and on February 16 Mr. Rockefeller wrote Dr. Harper with his own hand as follows:

"You are constantly in my thoughts. The feelings which I have always cherished towards you are intensified at this time. I glory in your marvelous courage and strength and confidently hope for the best. I have the greatest satisfaction and pleasure in our united efforts for the University, and I am full of hope for its future. No man could have filled your place. With highest esteem and tenderest affection as ever,

"Sincerely your friend,
"John D. Rockefeller."

On February 17 President Harper wrote to Mrs. Julius C. Johnson, whom he had first known as Miss Esther Boise, daughter of Professor James R. Boise, the venerable professor of New Testament Greek in the Seminary at Morgan Park: "So far as I can see there is no alternative except a long, lingering death, to which I cannot possibly look forward. . . . . The kindness your father showed me when as a mere boy I came to Morgan Park, and the sisterly way in which you treated Mrs. Harper and myself, young country

'kids,' has always rested strongly on my mind and cannot be forgotten."

The sudden death of his close friend and colleague, Professor George S. Goodspeed, at just this time was a cruel blow. On the day on which President Harper went to the hospital, he wrote to his brother, Professor Robert Francis Harper, then hurrying home from London: "My telegram has told you of the death of George Goodspeed. This has been a great blow. He left my office Tuesday afternoon February 7th after agreeing to take my seminar during the rest of the quarter. . . . ." Professor Goodspeed went home with a chill, the first symptom of an attack of pneumonia of which he died ten days later. One of the last things President Harper did the day before he went to the hospital was to call upon Mrs. Goodspeed to express his sympathy and look for the last time upon the face of his devoted friend.

President Harper went to the hospital on February 19. On the 20th he wrote to encourage his father, now old and feeble: "In any case I can assure you that all that I have been able to accomplish is due to your patient consideration and training in the early days. No son certainly owes to his father a greater debt of gratitude than I owe to you." Answering a letter of sympathy, he wrote the next day to Dr. Herrick Johnson: "But a new courage has come to me in these last two or three days, created

in large measure, I think, by the messages which have come to me from all sides, and I shall 'step into the dark' to-morrow with the strong conviction that somehow I shall come out again. If not, you and I know that there is a Divine plan which works for the good of the Universe, whatever it may have for each one of us." To another friend he said: "I am going into the operation with the determination to win out if it is the will of Providence."

The operation was performed at the Presbyterian Hospital on February 22. The day brought many messages of sympathy. Archbishop Ireland telegraphed a word of encouragement and hope, and this telegram came from Notre Dame:

"The president, faculty and students of the University of Notre Dame in mass-meeting assembled tender their sympathy to President Harper in his present illness, and pray that he may be long spared to the University of Chicago of which he is the honored head."

On the afternoon of that day many members of the faculties gathered in the Quadrangle Club and waited anxiously for word from the hospital, in the faint hope that the operation might disclose a less dangerous situation than had been understood to exist, or even that the doctors might operate successfully. The afternoon wore away without any word coming over the wire, but toward five Major Rust, evi-

dently deeply depressed, came into the clubhouse. He had been at the hospital and we gathered about him for some word of news. He could only say, with great emotion, "The President is doomed," and turn away.

President Harper had asked the surgeons to remove the growth in any case, at whatever risk, but they found it impossible to do so without certain death to the patient.

On February 27, five days after the operation, he wrote Mr. Gates that Dr. McBurney, who had come on from New York to operate, "emphasized the fact very strongly that my case is not hopeless and that there is a real chance, if I fight for it, for at least several years of work." He wrote Mr. Bartlett that the doctors thought he had one chance in five to live, and might live from six months to three years, even if the X-ray did not take hold.

His friends did not forget him in his trouble. Professor William Gardner Hale wrote him on March 6: "It is extraordinary what a single-hearted burst of affection and appreciation your illness has called out." Mr. Rockefeller expressed his sympathy by sending him a check for $2,000 to help with the expenses of his illness. That these were hard days appears in a letter sent on March 13 to Mr. Ryerson and Mr. Hutchinson, who had gone abroad: "The three or four weeks since you left have been very

dismal weeks. The experience has been an entirely new one for me."

Early in March he went to Lakewood, New Jersey, and reported to Mr. Ryerson on April 13: "I spent three weeks there with Dr. Billings, and the X-ray treatment, with the sunshine, lifted me up very rapidly. Nearly every day I went over to Mr. Rockefeller's house and sat on the veranda enjoying the sunshine." He must have felt much better, for he had Mrs. Harper send his golf clubs to him at Lakewood.

He returned to Chicago at the end of March so much improved that on April 15 he said to Mr. Gates: "I am at the end of the first week. I have done four to six hours work a day. The many problems which confront me make this amount of work seem rather small, especially after being cut off for nearly two months." In May he had so far recovered that he made a trip on University and other business to New York, Montreal, and Boston.

Meantime the results of those labors of which he had written so happily to Dean Hulbert from Lake Geneva saw the light. During February and March, 1905, he published *The Trend of Higher Education*, a revised and enlarged edition of *The Priestly Element in the Old Testament*, and *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea*. For many years, with the aid of his literary secretary, J. M. P. Smith, he had been

engaged on the greatest piece of scholarly work of his life, his *Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, prepared for the "International Critical Series." It, too, appeared at this time. Professor F. F. Abbott, the eminent Latin scholar, wrote him: "We feel very proud in the Ancient Language Group that one of our number has brought out such a book. The fulness of the critical and exegetical commentary and of the historical and literary matter fairly overwhelms one. You have set a pretty high mark for any of the rest of us to aim at." Professor George Adam Smith of Glasgow said of it: "His book was recognized by scholars as an adequate and exhaustive piece of work —one of the very best commentaries of modern times, with no signs of haste or starvation about it; as learned as it was sane, as thorough in detail as it was balanced in arrangement, as restlessly vigilant to all the innumerable questions which a century of controversy has raised about its subject as it was steady and clear in its grasp and vision of the whole." In the autumn of 1905 he published still another book, *The Prophetic Element in The Old Testament*. Many a considerable reputation has been built on a smaller output of literary material in a lifetime than this one year saw published. And as Professor Abbott indicates, at least one of these five books was a work containing the results of prodigious labor lasting through many years.

The files of President Harper's correspondence in these later years contain many letters from presidents of other colleges asking advice on how to raise money or thanking him for aid in campaigns. One of the most interesting came on July 1, 1905, from President Hadley of Yale:

"In connection with the very delightful gift from Mr. Rockefeller, I want to express my thanks to you for the part which your influence has played in rendering Mr. Rockefeller friendly to Yale. I have been delighted that amid your own large work and heavy burdens at Chicago you have not forgotten your love for the old place here."

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was being organized in 1905. The 22d Annual Report of its president, published in 1927, says: "The group that Mr. Carnegie brought about him contained some of the ablest college and university presidents. Charles William Eliot, Woodrow Wilson, William Rainey Harper, three of the most eminent, have finished their life work. President Harper's mortal illness was already upon him and he was not able to attend even the first meeting of the trustees at Mr. Carnegie's home."

Late in July the death of the President's father, Mr. Samuel Harper, occurred after an illness of two weeks at Dr. Harper's home in Chicago. On August 19 the President wrote his son in Europe: "I have

been suffering a good deal of pain the last week. . . . . I have had the largest classes I have ever had and have been very regular, missing very few classes. . . . . I have with me now a nurse—a man—who gives his whole time to helping me."

On September 1 he made his last public appearance, presiding at the Convocation. He tried to read his quarterly statement but his strength failed and he almost collapsed. He ended with "a word of personal thanks and appreciation for the many special acts of kindness which have been shown me this year and for the magnificent way in which all have stood together in the conduct of the University when the President found himself unable to do his work."

The next day he and Mrs. Harper went to the Battle Creek Sanitarium, where he took a course of baths but without substantial improvement. He wrote to Dr. J. H. Kellogg, the head of the Sanitarium, expressing his appreciation, and Dr. Kellogg replied on September 13:

"Yesterday I received your favor of a note written with your own hand. I appreciate very much your courtesy and shall treasure your letter as a remembrance of one of the greatest and most amiable men to whom it has been my good fortune to minister.

"Everybody at the Sanitarium is greatly interested in you and during your stay inquiries were con-

stantly made on all hands 'How is Dr. Harper getting along?' "

On September 1 the Louisiana Purchase Exposition conferred upon him a commemorative diploma and a commemorative medal in special recognition of his active interest and efficient co-operation in the Exposition. On October 4 he wrote his friend, Rev. W. A. Bartlett: "The struggle has been a dark and difficult one and I have not always possessed my soul with patience, but it has been a great help to know that so many friends have been thinking of me so kindly. The last month has been especially trying." On October 9 he wrote his mother: "They brought me down-stairs this morning on a stretcher and I am out on the veranda enjoying the fresh air and the sunshine. This is a clear indication that I am improving."

There are some pathetic touches in these letters. On October 17 he wrote Mr. Gates: "Please don't forget me and remember that a line now and then will do me lots of good." The next day he wrote Dr. Judson: "Something should be done to make [the Filipino students] feel at home and perhaps some special courtesy should be shown them." His condition varied greatly from day to day. At the end of November Mr. Gates came to see him but he was too ill to see anyone. He wrote Mr. Gates on December 4: "If your visit had come this week it would have

been entirely different. Every day since Sunday I have made striking progress. . . . . The pain is almost entirely gone." Twelve days later he told Mr. Bartlett that he was "feeling very much better the last three or four days."

All this time he was receiving many letters of sympathy and encouragement. President G. Stanley Hall of Clark University wrote him on December 16:

"I have never had the pleasure of enjoying your intimate acquaintance, but I doubt if there is a man in this country who has a more sincere and unbounded admiration of the magnificent work that you have done in connection with Chicago University. The boundless energy and enthusiasm, the passion for work and the genius for accomplishment that you have shown will abide in its results as a lasting monument, as an inspiration to other men and to youth for generations. . . . . Precious few men in the country who could not better be spared than you."

The anxiety of these weeks was relieved by many acts of sympathy and affection. Mr. William H. Sherwood, the distinguished pianist, would come out to the house and play for the President, whose lifelong love of music made this kindly service doubly appreciated. The President's physician, Dr. Billings, was also one of his warmest friends, and did all that could be done for his patient. Dr. Gunsaulus often came to see him, and Professor Albion W. Small and

other close friends in the faculty were often with him in these days of growing weakness. The devotion of Mrs. Harper and all the members of his family surrounded him with every attention, and the eyes of the University, the city, and indeed the whole nation were upon his sick room.

Meanwhile he kept courageously at work. In December, the last month of his life, he began to prepare the quarterly statement for the approaching Convocation, but was able to make only a beginning. As December passed and January began, it became more and more clear that the end was near. He continued to interest himself in the affairs of the University, as the files of his correspondence with Dean Small and Dean Judson indicate, though active conduct of the President's office was in the efficient hands of Dr. Judson, so that only problems of especial interest were brought to his notice. As the end drew near he called four of his oldest friends about his bed to pray with him, and himself uttered a simple and tranquil prayer.

Rarely has a man met death in so serene a spirit. It did not come as a surprise. A few weeks before the end he wrote to a friend: "Nobody knows when it will come, but it will come—I mean the end. For myself I do not think it will be a very long time." Only a day or two before his death, Dr. Goodspeed had occasion to call upon him to tell him of the business

done at the meeting of the Trustees that had just been held, and he introduced the subject of his death, then so imminent, and said that his faith was infinitely stronger and sweeter than ever before, repeating the word "infinitely" with a depth of feeling his hearer never forgot. His only anxiety was as to whether there was anything more he could do for certain members of the faculty, especially for any of the younger men, and he had Dr. Goodspeed read the faculty list over to him with this in mind.

So seeking to the last to do some service for others, passed the great heroic soul away. On Wednesday, January 10, 1906, at 2:30 P.M., he died in the President's House, in the fiftieth year of his age and the fifteenth of his presidency.

It was as natural for President Harper to plan and organize as to breathe, and it was like him to prepare plans for his funeral in full detail. These were carried out exactly as he planned them. On Thursday a family service was held at the house, conducted by Dr. Goodspeed and Dr. Charles R. Henderson, the University Chaplain. The brief address was made by Dr. Gunsaulus. On Saturday morning the casket was carried by a group of the President's closest associates across the campus through long lines of students, to Haskell Oriental Museum, where it lay in state with a student guard of honor until Sunday noon. Thousands of people passed through the Mu-

seum to have, as Dean Judson's notice card feelingly expressed it, "a last moment with the President."

The funeral services were held at 12:30 on Sunday in Mandel Assembly Hall. Prayer was offered by Dean Hulbert and Dr. Lyman Abbott, and Dr. Henderson read the Scriptures. The addresses were made by President W. H. P. Faunce of Brown University, by Chancellor E. Benjamin Andrews of the University of Nebraska, and by Dean Judson. President Faunce said:

"No one could know William Rainey Harper without admiring the rare simplicity of his spirit. . . . . He was always approachable, genial, unaffected as a child. He never attempted any special force or brilliancy of style. Oratory was impossible to him. He spoke lucidly, solidly, forthrightly, and the simple language of the fireside was the language in which he addressed listening thousands. . . . . No man in our generation was more richly dowered with constructive imagination. . . . . Men have said that he had extraordinary resources at his command and therefore accomplished extraordinary results. In truth he had no resources until he proved to the world that he could wisely use them. When he organized thousands of students throughout the country for the study of a subject that was esteemed the dryest and dullest of all disciplines he had no resources whatever. . . . . If others in later years

placed large means at his disposal, the question remained why they gave it to him and not to others. All over the land were institutions calling for support. Why was it granted here rather than elsewhere? Because the man was here and not elsewhere."

At the close of the services, the faculty formed in double lines in the cloister leading to Mitchell Tower, and every face was tense with emotion as the President was carried by. There was not a man there whom he had not bound to himself by some act of kindness, and hardly a man there who did not feel that in President Harper he had lost his best and greatest friend. Thousands of people filled the streets about the Mitchell Tower entrance, and waited patiently through the long service for a glimpse of the casket of the man who had somehow touched them with his infinite capacity for friendship.

While the funeral was being held at the University, in many other places the President's friends were meeting in memorial services—at Harvard, Columbia, the University of Illinois, Denison, and John B. Stetson University.

At Harvard the address was delivered by Professor Joseph Henry Beale, the first dean of the University of Chicago Law School.

At Columbia President Nicholas Murray Butler and President Charles Cuthbert Hall of Union Theological Seminary spoke, and Dean Andrew Fleming

West of Princeton read a poem entitled "President Harper."

At the service at the University of Illinois an address by President Edmund J. James was read in his absence, as he was attending the funeral in Chicago. He said of President Harper:

"He had risen, at the time of his death, to the position of the most distinguished citizen of the State of Illinois. . . . . There has not been a man in the world in the last decade, who has been more widely known as an educator, as a creator, as a prophet, as a poet in the old Greek sense of the term, in this field of education. . . . . He was a man therefore who made educational issues and, in this respect, only President Eliot of Harvard can be compared with him in the whole educational history of the United States. I think no single man has done so much to raise the popular estimate of the teacher's vocation, the professor's calling, the University President's occupation, as Doctor Harper. . . . . It is hardly necessary to add that the effect of his work has been to stimulate greatly the facilities and opportunities for higher education in this Mississippi Valley. It is easier for us here at Illinois to-day to get money from the legislature for the higher work which we ought to be carrying on. It is easier for us to get money for necessary equipment than it would have been except for his activity. The establishment of the Uni-

versity of Chicago, with the announcement of the things for which it was to stand, opened a new era in this Mississippi Valley. Every institution of higher learning has profited by these altered standards and these higher ideals."

President Harper's illness had aroused nation-wide interest, and all over the country the news of his death made a profound impression. In many churches and schools memorial services were held, and many tributes and eulogies were published. Dr. Finley's analysis of his greatness in the *Review of Reviews* was quoted at the beginning of this sketch. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, the rabbi of Sinai Congregation in Chicago, and for many years Dr. Harper's colleague in the Semitic Department of the University, wrote from New York: "We Jews owe him a great debt of gratitude. He brought the Hebrew Bible again to the notice of the nation, and did a giant's work to open it to the understanding of the best among the thoughtful."

Chancellor E. Benjamin Andrews, his oldest friend, wrote of him: "It is safe to say that no other man in all history ever accomplished so vast an educational result in so short a time. Harper had General Grant's gift of getting able men about him. Having a Titan's physique and energy, he carried on his executive tasks, hard as they always were, putting his whole soul into them, without the slightest

perceptible remission of his classroom or book work. In this power of duplicating himself, being a model executive and a profound scholar both at once, pushing each phase of activity with the most unremitting assiduity and vigor and with uniform success, Mr. Harper had among university presidents not only no equal, but no second. Most remarkable of all, he did not lose himself under these loads of responsibility and toil, and never forgot to be a man and a gentleman. He was never out of temper or unkind. He made no display. All his students loved him."

The University had celebrated its fifth and its tenth anniversaries, and plans had already been made for its fifteenth, when President Harper died. "Presently the alumni realized," says Professor Edwin H. Lewis, "that the fifteenth anniversary was at hand, and without him. In a sense it was not celebrated but solemnized." The memory of the departed President pervaded all the exercises, and Professor Lewis's Convocation Ode closed with these lines:

"Hebraic-minded in Teutonic frame,
Great toiler, builder great, and greater friend,
Creative hope, aspiring like a flame,
Wielder of power to power's most noble end,
Live; live in us, brave spirit, teaching still
The broader vision and the braver act,
And in that valley of the staff and rod

Teach us the hero's will,
Who smiles from lips by human anguish racked,
And dies firm trusting in a human God."

A life so rich and fruitful as President Harper's naturally had many memorials. The Hyde Park Baptist Church commemorated his long and loyal connection with it in a memorial window with figures of Amos and Hosea, the prophets whose writings he had interpreted in his Commentary. His brother, Professor Robert Francis Harper, whose early studies he had directed into the field of Assyriology and who was his devoted friend and admirer, had achieved distinction in his specialty and now organized a great tribute of learning to the President's memory in the form of two large volumes of *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*. Professor Francis Brown of Union Theological Seminary and Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard University were the other editors of the studies, to which twenty-six American scholars contributed. The volumes were published on January 10, 1908, the second anniversary of the President's death.

In 1908 the city of Chicago, through the Board of Education, as a member of which he had rendered important service, named for him the William Rainey Harper School, now a Junior High School, of thirty-five rooms, located at Sixty-fifth and Wood streets. The building was erected in 1910. In 1912 when the

city in co-operation with the Post-Office department revised the names of the streets, Jefferson Avenue, a street near the University, was renamed Harper Avenue, in his honor.

His most lasting memorial, as his successor President Judson said in his first report to the Board of Trustees, was the founding and organization of the University.

But suggestions as to a material memorial to him upon the quadrangles of the University began to be made immediately upon his death. The great and pressing need of the University was for a library building, a need that he had repeatedly emphasized in his Convocation Statements, and naturally the memorial took that form. Within a week after Dr. Harper's death Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., telegraphed Mr. Ryerson, President of the Board of Trustees: "If the Trustees favor the erection of a University Library in memory of Dr. Harper, my father will join with the Doctor's many friends in Chicago and the East in a contribution toward it."

Committees on the memorial were appointed and they united in recommending that the General Library building be made the memorial. The amount needed was estimated at $800,000, and Mr. Rockefeller undertook to provide three-fourths of that amount, if the other friends of President Harper would make up the remainder. The panic of 1907

delayed the securing of the fund, but when completed it represented gifts from over two thousand alumni and friends and amounted to $1,045,552. This paid for the erection of the building and provided a maintenance fund of $260,000.

Since 1902 a commission had been at work upon the plans for the housing of the University libraries, and their results were made use of by the University architects—Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge—in designing the group of library and departmental buildings two blocks in length, of which the Harper Memorial Library was to be the central feature. Construction was begun on January 10, 1910, the fourth anniversary of President Harper's death. The cornerstone was laid by Mrs. Harper on June 14, 1910, when addresses were delivered by Mr. Clement W. Andrews, librarian of the John Crerar Library, and by Professor Ernest D. Burton, Director of the University Libraries.

The elaborate ceremonies of dedication were held on June 10 and 11, 1912. Before a great audience gathered in Harper Court, Mr. Ryerson, in presenting the keys of the building to President Judson, said:

"This building is dedicated to the memory of a man whose career is worthy of being commemorated in the most notable manner. The importance of his services to our University and to the cause of education in general cannot be too fully recognized, and

The Harper Memorial Library

the magnitude of his monument is still within the measure of our estimate of his life-work. We have wrought as largely and as beautifully as we could in order to express, not only our appreciation of his work, but also the affection and esteem in which his memory is held by the members of the University and by the thousands who have contributed to the erection of his monument."

Among the letters of sympathy received by Dr. Harper in his illness, are two that seem to deserve special mention. Mr. F. H. Gilchrist, an alumnus of the University, wrote him on February 23, 1905:

"You once made a statement which has remained ever since in my memory, though the time and place have long been forgotten. It has been an inspiration to me many times. 'The true standard of time is not the hour nor the day nor the year. A man's life should be measured not by years but by things accomplished. He lives longest who gets the most done, who works the hardest when he works, and plays the hardest when he plays—who works and lives at his full efficiency all the time.' "

The next day, February 24, 1905, the following letter came from the White House:

"My Dear President Harper:

"I have been deeply touched by your letter, written at such a time. Now my dear fellow, let me say

to you with all the earnestness I can how deeply I appreciate all the aid and comfort you have given me by advice and friendship and example, and how proud I am, as an American, of you and of your career and of all that you have done.

"With deep regard and sympathy and heartiest good wishes for your speedy recovery, I am,

"Ever your friend,

"Theodore Roosevelt."

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